

KASHMIR UNDER THE MUGHALS
1586-1752
BY
ABDUL MAJID MATTOO



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1586 — 1752

ABDUL MAJID MATTOO

**GOLDEN HORDE ENTERPRISES
KASHMIR**

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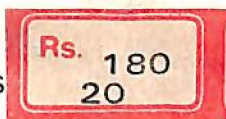
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*To The Sweet Memory
of
My father Kh. Abdul Gani Mattoo
for
His Truthfulness and Politeness*





CHIEF MINISTER
JAMMU & KASHMIR

FOREWORD

It is indeed very heartening for me to see that Dr. Abdul Majid Matoo, Reader in the Department of History, University of Kashmir has completed his laborious work on "Kashmir under the Mughals (1586-1752)" after investigative research and appreciation of facts. Some conclusions drawn by Dr. Majid on the basis of his sincere efforts and assimilation of facts stand out and offer a challenge to the young reader, who has a disposition towards Kashmir and her problems of identity, economic resurgence and social adjustment.

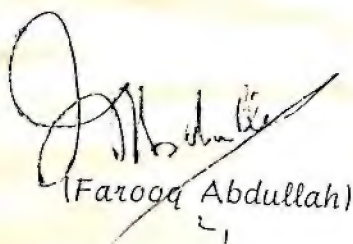
I have no doubt that this interesting book will be of immense interest for the readers in general and the students of history in particular. Now-a-days we are talking so much about the development and economic prosperity of the people of the State, but it is indispensibly important to know the economic forces that have taken shape in the crucible of Kashmir. People in general are aware of the landmarks of history and political events which find a mention in the history of Kashmir, but an incisive study of the economic forces that have operated on the social millieu has a unique importance and can resolve many enigmas.

I am happy to know that Dr. Abdul Majid Mattoo has made a thorough and chronological study of the political and economic currents, which have culminated into the splendour and significance of Kashmir and it is particularly evident in his narrative of the events between 1586 to 1752. I would feel happy, if the study started by Dr. Majid is brought to include the historical and economic forces which are relevent to our present day situation also.

A unique and important thesis propounded by Dr. Majid relates to the misunderstanding about religious and social conflicts which permeate the valley of Kashmir even till the present day. The intrinsic worth of the people and their thorough understanding can be seen from the scholars and profundity of thought displayed in the great art, literate and handicrafts produced in Kashmir. The Chaos and confusion has been attributed to the extraneous forces and the understanding and depth of mind are unmistakably discernible in the folk lore, music, drama, dance, painting, architecture and social rituals.

Dr. Abdul Majid is a young historian and on the basis of his intellectual pursuits I am quite hopeful that he will produce many more works of lasting beauty and value and I wish him success in all his scholarly endeavours, which will not cover the routine journey into the past, but hold out a bright promise for the future.

Srinagar, the
Aug., 1988.



(Farooq Abdullah)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT :

I must show how grateful I am to my teacher Prof. M.Z.U. Siddiqui of Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh who put up with me while I was busy in preparing my thesis which is the basis of this work.

I should be failing in my duty if I do not express my feelings for the encouragement and affectionate advice of Matheri-Meharban Begum Shaire Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

I am not less grateful to Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami of Aligarh Muslim University and words fail me to express my gratitude to Prof. Irfan Habib without whose encouragement and generosity in guidance, it would have remained only a dream.

My grateful thanks are due to Prof. S. Maqbul Ahmed former Director of C.C.A.S. for his valuable suggestions and who included this work in the publication programme of the Centre of Central Asian Studies. I owe my gratitude to Prof. Mohibbu'l Hasan formerly Head Department of History, Kashmir University and also to Prof. A. Ansari of Jamia Millia Islamia for their valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks are also due to the Staff of Research Library of Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, M.A. Library and Research Library of J&K State.

I owe my thanks to my wife for her pains she has been taking all along despite her heavy schedule of work, and in the face of strain and stress.



INTRODUCTION

The Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir dates back to Akbar's annexation of the region consequent upon the brushing aside of the feeble resistance offered by the Chak Sultan to the aggressive forces of the Mughals in 1586. This political upheaval unnerved the Kashmiri people as it involved the loss of independence and the forcing upon them an alien political and social order. But the change gradually proved to be a mixed blessing as it ushered in an era of wider political and social relations, peace and tranquility, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of industry and trade, opening up of new trade routes, extension of the Mughal system of administration, development of gardening with requisite irrigation works, architectural activity and followed in its wake the remarkable growth of arts and letters, education and learning and the catholicity and universal tolerance preached and practised by a number of the *ṣūfī* orders which found in Kashmir a very fertile soil to function and flourish.

The continuity of a stable rule in Kashmir and the establishment of peace and order and the security provided by the might of the Mughal arms reassured the people who had become sick of the intrigues and rebellions under the weak Sultans of the declining Chak dynasty and felt relieved at being placed under the powerful rule of the Mughals. The promotion of industry and trade through the security on roads and opening of better routes connecting far-flung areas and throwing open the outside world to the merchants and traders and the people of Kashmir afforded unique opportunities for the economic development of the region, bringing about new social attitudes by brisk contacts with the people of the other parts of Mughal India and the foreign countries and breaking the age-long isolation of Kashmir to which both nature and man had contributed and which the Mughal domination had smashed up.

Yet the Mughal adventure in Kashmir was not actuated by any philanthropic motives to extend the blessings of peace to the troubled northern state or to associate the people of Kashmir in the grandiose task of building up a welfare state in India in which the Kashmiri genius would also be blended to make a distinct contribution. The aggressive endeavours of Akbar to extend his sway over Kashmir, or preferably to bring about its annexation to the Mughal Empire, was

prompted both by imperialistic designs and considerations of the defence of the Empire which was increasingly menaced by the growing Uzbek Empire. If the outlying northern and north-western regions were to be firmly secured in the Mughal hands, both Kabul and Kashmir should be acquired, strengthened, pacified and garrisoned so as to counter-poise the threat from the Uzbeks or any other Central Asian powers which might assume alarming proportions in future. The strategic and military importance of Kashmir rendered it both a source of weakness to the Mughal Empire if placed in hostile hands and a region of strength and tactical superiority if wrested from the local power and absorbed into the Empire. And Akbar was not a man to fail or falter once he had set his heart on an adventure if he had dispassionately come to realise its indispensability as to further his interests. The occupation of Kashmir and the subsequent Mughal acquisitions of Little Tibet, Great Tibet, Sarshāl, Damyāl, Damtūr, Pakhli, Noushahra, Rajouri and Punch pushed forward the Mughal boundaries to the natural frontiers which considerably facilitated the task of the defence of the Empire by man no less than by nature. Herein lies the true significance of the Mughal advance into Kashmir.

Another factor which might have impelled the Mughals to try their hands in Kashmir seems to have been the pleasures and respite which the enchanting valley of Kashmir with its famed scenic spots, superb natural beauty, bracing and healthful climate, its colourful flowers, variety of fruits, game birds and animals offered to the visitors and the Mughals were attracted to these enjoyments to pass the summer days in the valley to avoid the scorching heat of the Indian plains.

The opportunity to fish in the troubled waters of the politics of Kashmir was provided by the weaklings who sat on the Kashmir throns in the days of the decline of the Chak Kingdom, the faction fight among the self-seeking nobility, slackness in administration, diminution in revenues and the Shia-Sunni conflicts which destroyed the peace the order in the society. The feeble attempts of Yusuf Shah Chak and the inexperience of Yāqūb Shah Chak to mobilise the energetic elements in the Chak nobility to serve the ends of the Sultans led to the Kashmir's disaster and its passing into the Mughal hands. The attempts of the recalcitrant national elements to reassert independence subsequent to 1586 were foredoomed to failure as they lacked the resources to fight against the mighty Mughal Empire.

The loss of independence to the Kashmiris in 1586, despite the many good and beneficial aspects of the Mughal rule was a disaster of great magnitude. It undermined the spirit of independence, self-realisation and the flowering of the martial characteristics of the Kashmiri people who constituted merely an insignificant element in the Mughal army. The prolonged Mughal rule, 1586-1752 was followed by the Afghan and Sikh occupations and the spirits of the Kashmiri people were ultimately dampened by the loss of opportunities for the self-growth.

The Mughals had given unity to the region and with the rest of the Empire, Uniformity of administrative set-up, extension of agriculture, growth of trade and commerce, maintenance and opening up of trade routes, export of shawls and woolen textiles to different parts of India and foreign countries, the laying out of numerous beautiful gardens and monuments and the beautification of scenic spots and above all the tremendous boost to tourist industry by the royalty, nobility and aristocracy and the social elite so much so that the link line of the Empire with Kashmir was well-frequented and briskly busy. The annual royal visits together with the court paraphernalia had contributed to the well-being and importance of Kashmir. Poets say praises of the beauty-natural and human-of Kashmir. The famous verse from Urfi portrays this feeling palpably:

ہر سوختہ جانے کہ یہ کشمیر در آید گر مرغ کیاب است باباں و پرنی آید عرفی

But the Mughals, being an Imperialist power, chiefly interested in the exploitation of peasantry and the resources of Kashmir as elsewhere in India, did very little to bring about the real happiness and welfare of the masses, extension of irrigation and agriculture, the urbanisation and enrichment of the people and the return of dividends to the workers and the tillers of the soil.

Unfortunately very little work has so far been done on the history of Kashmir notwithstanding the great importance which the study deserves. Only a few published works exist on the subject, particularly the scholarly work of Prof. Mohibbul Hasan entitled, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 'A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819' by Dr R.K. Parmu, 'Kashir' by G.M.D. Sūfi and the like. The last two works are sketchy and sweeping as regards the history of the Mughal Subah of Kashmir some work is being done in Jammu and Kashmir on the ancient, modern and the Sultanate periods but the history of Mughal Kashmir is sadly neglected. Hence the present work is an humble attempt to fill this great lacuna.

Since a systematic work on all the aspects of Mughal Kashmir is as such too extensive I had to make a study of the history of the Şubah of Kashmir with particular emphasis to the various facets of administration and society while at the same time giving necessary treatment to other aspects like the history of art and literature political developments, economic affairs and the like.

There is one heartening factor on the history of Mughal Kashmir. The source material bearing on the history of the period is abundant and varied. It is spread over in a number of libraries, archives, archaeological remains, museums, personal collections and religious literature in numerous shrines and religious places. I have interwoven the widely scattered segments of this mass of historical sources to construct a picture of the most conspicuous aspects of the history of the Mughal Şubah of Kashmir.

SOURCES

The period under review is rich in source material and it is not possible to describe and evaluate each source separately.

Historians who have utilised the sources have discussed the importance of many of the general source books but their utility in regard to the history of the Şubah of Kashmir requires further explanation.

The material at our disposal can be classified as under :

- A History works of a general character
- B Provincial sources
- C Administrative manuals
- D Tadkiras and Epistolary Collections
- E Travellers' Accounts
- F Archaeological evidence.

A. History Works of a General Character

Official, and semi-official chronicles and other historical works written during our period can be included in this category.

Akbarnama by Abul Faẓ'l, *Akbarnama Faizi*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* by Badauni, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, *Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri*, *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, *Shahjahān Nama*, *Qazvini*, *Badshah Nāmā*, *Lahori* and *Badshah Nama* or *Waris*, *Amal-i-Şāleh* by Kumbu,

Alamgir Nāmā Mohammad Kāẓim, *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri* by Sāqī Musta'id Khān, *Wāqīāt-i-'Alamgiri* by 'Aqil Khān Rāzi and *Munṭakhab-u-Lubāb* by Khāfi Khān are well-known sources of our period.

Akbarnāmā by Abul Faẓl

The historical and literary qualities of *Akbarnāmā* have been dealt in detail by a number of scholars, who have utilised this source book. Research papers have been produced by various scholars about penmanship of Abul Faẓl.

Kashmir was annexed in 1586 A.D. and during the three visits of Akbar, Abul Faẓl accompanied him to Kashmir. Having been understanding of the problems, Abul Faẓl provides us an interesting account of topography, Mughal-Chak relations, Mirza Haider's rule in Kashmir, description of routes and land revenue reports. The topographical information and chronology with a few lapses are correct.

Akbarnāmā by Faizi is only a supplement to the above work. There is no extra information in this chronicle.

Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri

Leaving administrative evidences aside, the importance of *Tuzuk* lies in the graphic, exhaustive and unbiased account of socio-economic conditions of Kashmir. The *Tuzuk* contains information about birds, flowers, fruits, agricultural and forest products, houses, dress, diet and manners of the people. Social life of Pakhli, Punch, Rajouri and Kashṭawār have been also discussed.

The information about the routes leading to Kashmir is detailed and descriptive.

The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, *Iqbal Nāmā Jahāngiri* and *Jahāngir Nāmā* by Abul Hasan do not give us any new information. These works, as a matter of fact, are supplement of the *Tuzuk*.

Shahjahan Nama Qazvini, *Badshah Nama Lahori*, *Badshah Nama Wariṣ*, and *Āmal-i-Sāleh* by Kumbu provide us with information about administrative, social and economic conditions. A detailed description of the gardens and monuments of the period is very interesting. Qazvini has covered the first decade while Lahori the

first and second. Wariṣ, and Kumbu narrate the description of the whole reign of Shahjahan.

Lahori and Kumbu have given us a comprehensive account of the routes leading to Kashmir and the inns constructed on the routes. The description of the Tibet expedition and topographical information of the region is also quite interesting feature of Lahori's work.

The chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign do not contain any new information about our Ṣubah. However, the administrative changes which took place from time to time have been well recorded.

The sources of other nature like administrative manuals, epistolary works, Tadkiras of saints and ṣūfis help us in analysing the various institutions of the society of this period.

B. PROVINCIAL SOURCES

Raja Tarangini by Shrivara written in 1597 A.D. is the only contemporary Sanskrit source of Kashmir of the period. The narrative is very brief and there is no sequence of events. There are only a few dates which makes it further confusing. I have consulted the English translation of this work by J.C. Dutt.

BAHĀRISTĀN-SHĀHI

It is a Persian work by some anonymous writer in an ornate style. It was completed in 1614. The events leading to the downfall of Chaks and ascendance of the Mughals are exhaustive. But the subsequent events after the transfer of Yousf Khān Rizvi are very brief.

There are two manuscripts of this in the Research Library, Srinagar and one in British Museum. The BM manuscript is more detailed and complete. The chronology is defective. However, the activities of Yusuf Shah and Yāqūb-Shah in exile have been given a fair treatment.

Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Malik Haidar Chādhūra, is a comprehensive history from very earliest times to 1620-21 A.D. The author accompanied Yousf Shah Chak in his exile. After his death, he was given the lofty title of *Chugta'i* and *Rā'isul-Mulk*. The *zamindāri* of his native place was also assigned to him by Jahangir.

It throws light on social and political institutions of the period. A detailed account of Kashtawār and Punch expeditions have been well narrated. But the author always eulogizes the wisdom and courage of his family, the Maliks.

Mukhtasar Tārikh-i-Kashmir by Narayan Koul Ājiz was compiled in 1710. It is an abridgement of Haidar Malik's work. It is sketchy and brief.

There is a list of parganas along with the number of villages in each parganah and revenue figures.

I have consulted three manuscripts of this work available in Research Library, Srinagar, and one in the Department Library of the History Department, AMU., Aligarh. The last one is complete.

Nawādirul-Akḥbār by Aba Rafi-ud-Din Ahmed. It was compiled in 1723. The ancestors of the author had come from Balkh, but he himself was Kashmiri by birth. The author discusses the social and ṣūfi movements at length, but he has overestimated the influence of religious factor in the civil wars. The work, though defective in chronology, gives some new information about the social life.

Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir by Mohammad 'Azam was compiled in 1748. It consists of three divisions. The first is based on the information of Kalhan's *Raja-Tarangini*, the second deals with the Sultanate period, and the third with the Mughal rule. It is a biography of Ṣūfis, Saints and Scholars, but side by side throws light on the administration of the period. The events of the Aurangzeb's reign are more comprehensive. There are occasional reference about the economic condition of the people also.

Labu Tawārikh is a political history by the same author compiled in 1164/1750. It does not contain any new information.

Gouhar-i-'Alam by Mohammad Aslam Mun'ami is a history from earliest times to the close of 12th century Hijri. It is an abridgement of *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*. The author had the same sources at his disposal which were used by Mohammad Azam (father of the author). It does not provide us with any new information.

C. ADMINISTRATIVE MANUALS

A'in-i-Akbari is a work unique in its nature. It is a mine of information for the administrative and economic history of the period. The Chapter on revenue system is exhaustive. The social aspect of the period has not been neglected. It contains information about fruits, vegetables, and other novelties of Kashmir. The Chapter on shawls is also detailed.

The topographical information is but defective. Nevertheless its translators particularly Jarret help us in indentifying various places described in the narrative.

It is strange that the various manuscripts of the work vary from one another. Blochmann's edition is comprehensive and more reliable, but the India Office Copy is earliest, and more authentic. Nowl Kishore edition of 1889 is a verbatim copy of Blochmann's edition.

Gulshan Dastūr by Nath Pandith bears the date Hijri 1120/1710. 11, but events of later dates have also been recorded. The last event is regarding the *Ṣubahdari* of *Sukh Jiwan* who was Nazim of Kashmir after the Afghan occupation in 1752 A.D.

It is a voluminous work in verse and prose consisted of 73 chapters (*Gulshan*) each chapter has a few sections (*Būṭas*).

It is a mine of information so far socio-economic history of the period is concerned. The *Ijaradāri* system and *rais* of various crops have been conspicuously described.

The manuscript is complete but the loss of one chapter on revenue statistics is irreparable.

Tārikh-i-Hasan

The author has followed the style of *Āin-i-Akbari* while compiling his monograph in four volumes. The influence of Mughal Historiography is predominant, but the contacts with Mr Walter Lawrance have also broadened his vision. It is a late 19th century work.

The first volume pertains to geography of the *Subah*. The second volume contains the information regarding socio-political conditions, third volume deals with the religious movements and gives us a detailed information about the life of the *ṣūfis* and saints.

Miscellaneous information is made available to us in the fourth volume.

Being a monumental work of 19th century, the author claims to have had access to various sources which are not extent now. As such he has provided us with some extra information.

D. TADKIRAS AND EPISTOLARY COLLECTIONS

Asrārul-Abrār by Dāūd Mishkwāti was compiled in 1653. It is a biography of various Ṣūfis and Saints, occasionally throwing light on socio-economic and political history of the period.

Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn

The author Mulla Ahmed bin Abdus Ṣabūr has compiled this work in A.H. 1109 as derived from the Chronogram "*Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn*."

Mullah Ahmad was a disciple of *Khawajagi* Mohammad Hāshim.

It is a treatise on the life of various Ṣūfis and Saints of Kashmir since the advent of Islam down to his own period. Besides their spiritual discourses, he has also highlighted their activities in social, religious and cultural fields.

Tuhfatul-Fuqarā of Mohammad Murād Tang was written in A.D. 1710-11. It is also biography of Ṣūfis and Saints. The author has great reverence for Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi and his successors. He provides us information about their disciples in Kashmir, besides the activities of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi : occasional references regarding life and times of the people is of immense value.

Rouzatul-Ārifin by Ziyā-ud-Din Kashtawāri is a biography of Qadiri Saints of Kashtawar who introduced Islam in Kashtawār. It was written some times in 19th century. The author was a *Sajadanishīn* of Shah Asrārud-Din's shrine. The manuscript in the Research Library, Srinagar, is in-complete and defective.

Epistolary collections in Research Library, Srinagar; edited by various persons are mainly of Aurangzeb's period. A Collection edited by Abdus Ṣamad of 40 folios, other Collections by anonymous (Acc Nos 3102, 2776, 2193, 2675) and letter collection in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar provide us with information on social, economic and administrative conditions of our period.

E. EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS

St. J. Xavier, and Bendict-de-goes were the first known European travellers who set foot on the soil of Kashmir in 1597. The account of the Fathers is very brief. The *Şubah* of Kashmir at the time of their arrival was in the grip of a terrible famine.

Their account, though short, throws light on economic conditions of the people and the effects of the Mughal conquest have also been highlighted.

Pelsaert's Account about Kashmir is also sketchy. It gives us some information about the trade and commerce of the *Subah*.

Berneir's Account

Of all the travellers's account, Berneir's account is most exhaustive, and lucid. He starts his narrative about Kashmir as soon as the imperial camp enters Bhimbar territory. His topographical information is reliable. It is rich in information so for social life, economic conditions, arts and crafts is concerned. The account about Ladakh is inconclusive and defective.

Desideri and Father Fryre came to Kashmir in 1714 on their way to Tibet. The Fathers remained in the valley for a number of months, which enabled them to give us an accurate account of social, and economic life of the people. It is very important source as far as the trade and commerce of Kashmir with the Little and Greater Tibet, Central Asia, Nepal and Bhutan is concerned.

It contains information about the political Geography and the borders of Ladakh and Tibet also. De Filipi has rendered its Italian version into English.

George Forster came to Kashmir in 1783. He has published the account of his travels in two volumes. It throws light on the social and economic life of the people. His topographical information is reliable.

The accounts of travellers who visited the valley in the 19th century, like Moorcroft, Philip Yefremov, George Trebeck, G.T. Vigne, Frances Younghusband, Fredric Drew and A.H. Francke give detailed information about social and economic life and the topography of the whole *Şubah*.

F. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The period under review is rich in archaeological evidences. There are numerous living examples of monuments, gardens, Inns, bridges, and shrines, which help us in formulating our views on the various aspects of Mughal Kashmir.

INSCRIPTIONS :

Some of the inscriptions on archaeological works are very important e.g., the inscription on the Jami' Masjid at Srinagar gives us information about the abolition of certain taxes imposed during the reign of Jahangir. The inscription on Akbar's fort at Srinagar is also valuable. There are other inscriptions available to us on the gates of old mosques like Mosque of Mulla Akhwand Shah, Khanqāhi Sheikh Hamza and the Walls of Verinag Spring, Chashmashāhi and on the inns on the Mughal route leading to Kashmir.

This is a concise account and brief evaluation of some of the more important source material. A select bibliography of the sources utilized in the preparation of the book is given at the end.

ABBREVIATIONS

ĀIN	Āine-Akbari
A.N.	Akbar Nāma
A.S.B.	Asiatie Society of Bengal
R.A.S.	Royal Asiatie Society
R.P.D.	Research & Publication Deptt. of J&K State
Tuzuk	Tuzuki-Jahāngiri

Section I
POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE



THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KASHMIR-ANNEXATION, EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Kashmir was formally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1586 but the process of occupation had started much earlier. With the decline of the Shahmir dynasty, the refractory nobles and claimants to the throne solicited the help of the Mughals to strengthen their own claims.¹ But the final blow was struck by the conquest of Mirza Haidar Duglat in 1540, as the subversive activities of the nobles and the chieftains had already set in motion the process of the decay of the Shah Mir power. The internal disturbances exposed the kingdom to foreign aggression. The chaos and confusion resulted in the breakdown of the administration. The tributary states withheld payment of tribute and in due course of time broke away from the centre. The successors of Sultan Zainul-Ābidin were not able to administer the kingdom efficiently. This situation sapped the vitality and strength of opposition to foreign aggression.

The conquest of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Duglat was an event of great significance. He invaded Kashmir twice. In 1533, he was acting as a commander of Sultan Sa'id of Kashghar. Pursuing an expansionist policy Sultan Sa'id directed a campaign against Ladakh. After the conquest of Ladakh the Mirza marched to Kashmir. The guards of Zojilla pass were taken by surprise. They were defeated but Mirza left Kashmir in the same year,² leaving behind a demoralised army and a Sultan whose pride was badly hurt.

During the next decade the Mughal Empire suffered a terrible reverse. Humāyūn was defeated by Shershah. The former decided to proceed to Kashmir. Meanwhile Mirza Haidar was approached by Abdāl Magray and Regi Chak for help against Kāji Chak.³ The Mirza also suggested to Humāyūn to march to Kashmir. But he declined to accept their proposal on various grounds.⁴ Mirza Haidar alone proceeded to Kashmir in 1540, and defeated the disarrayed forces of Kashmir.⁵ The *Khutba* was recited and coins struck in the name of Humāyūn.⁶ But the Mirza allowed Nāzuk Shah to continue as titular Sultan. Mirza Haidar divided the entire land of Kashmir among himself, Malik Abdal Magrey, and Malik Regi Chak.⁷ The *Khālīṣa* land

shrank and the nobles were also deprived of their property. In order to strengthen his position, Mirza Haidar Dughlat put down the Shi'ites with a heavy hand. He sent a copy of *Fiqh Ahwat* to the 'Ulama of India who repudiated it and wrote a decree of remonstrance against its author,⁸ and his followers who were mainly the Chaks.⁹ The Chak nobility had a strong position in the kingdom. The contumacious nobles joined hands with the opponents and thus got rid of Mirza Haidar Dughlat by killing him in an encounter in 1550.¹⁰ Verily his death caused a vacuum in the administrative set-up of the *Subah* which was not filled until the administration of the *Subah* was reorganised on a sound footing.

Nāzuk Shah was succeeded by Ismail Shah in 1555 for the second time.¹¹ He was just a titular head and it was Ḡāzi Shah who virtually ruled the kingdom.¹² He did nothing to heal up the wounds of the nobles caused by the Mirza's tough rule, but laid hands on to crush them further. He assassinated Malik Daulat Chak and himself became the *Vazir*.¹³ Malik Shamsi Raina escaped to India to seek the help of Emperor Humāyūn.¹⁴ During his stay at the Court, Humāyūn died, and Shamsi Raina left the court in disgust. At Lahore he met Shah Abul Maali who had escaped from the prison.¹⁵ They collected a contingent of three to four thousand men at Delhi and Lahore¹⁶ and marched to Kashmir. But Ḡāzi Shah forestalled the invading forces by inflicting a defeat at Hanjiwera^{16a} in 1558; Shah Abul Maali had a narrow escape. This success puffed him up with inflated pride and he adopted a ruthless policy towards the suspected nobles.¹⁷ Meanwhile Ismā'īl Shah died in 1557. Ḡāzi Shah proclaimed his nephew, Habib Shah, as King. In 1561 on account of Habib Shah's incompetance he himself ascended the throne and laid the foundation of the Chak dynasty.¹⁸ During his regency Akbar was approached by the refractory nobles. Thereupon Akbar despatched Qara Baḥādur with a force of 7000 soldiers against Ḡāzi Shah in 560,¹⁹ but Kashmiri nobles did not back Qara Baḥādur and he marched towards Rajouri.²⁰ Ḡāzi Shah also marched against him and Mughal forces were routed with a large number wounded and killed.²¹ Qara Baḥādur was compelled to retreat. The result of this defeat was that Akbar did not launch any attack for about twentysix years. Ḡāzi Shah was a strong ruler. He had oppressed the refractory elements within and garrisoned the passes and out posts.

Nevertheless, in the forthcoming years Akbar kept a vigilant eye on the developments in Kashmir. He accredited four missions to Kashmir in order to get up-to-date information about the internal conditions.²² Meanwhile Qāzi Shah died of leprosy and he was succeeded by Hussain Shah in 1567.²³

As already mentioned Mirza Haidar Duglat had adopted a policy of repression towards the non-Hanafites and Shiā nobles were suppressed with an iron hand. The Chak Sultans attempted to avenge the wrongs committed by the Mirza. As such the communal frenzy had the upper hand during this period.²⁴ In 1568-69, Yousf Āindār, an ordinary soldier abused Qāzi Habīb who was hastening on horseback to lead the Friday prayers. The Qāzi hit him with whip, but Yousf Āindār injured him with his sword.²⁵ This incident aroused the feelings of the Sunnis. The Ūlama convened a meeting under Qāzi Mūsā, Mulla Šāleh Ganāi and Mulla Yousf. A decree for the execution of Yousf Āindār was issued.²⁶ Husain Shah had no alternative but to yield under their pressure.²⁷ Since Qāzi Habib was injured, the Shi'its considered the execution of the culprit unjustified. In the same year Akbar had sent Mirza Muqīm and Mir Yāqūb to the court of Sultan Hussain Shah.²⁸ Sultan Husain Shah entrusted the case to Mirza Muqīm.²⁹ The envoys had a soft corner for the Shiās, as they also were from the same sect.³⁰ Mirza Muqim suggested the prosecution of the defaulting Qāzis. Husain Shah acted upon his advice, executed Qāzi Musa and Mulla Yousf. Their bodies were dragged around the city which caused a terror among the Sunnis.³¹ This act alienated the Sunnis and a section of them under the leadership of Mulla Ābdulla, Āli Koka and Doni Koka,³² proceeded to the Court of Akbar to appeal him to intervene in Order to redress their grievances, Akbar was eagerly awaiting such an opportunity. He got Mirza Muqim and Yāqūb Mir executed.³³ Mulla Abdullah, Doni Koka and Ali Koka were also imprisoned.³⁴ He also sent back daughter of Husain Shah who was offered in marriage, together with the presents. A majority of the people thereafter looked to Akbar for vindication of the wrongs of the Chaks. Akbar deputed another delegation immediately to Kashmir comprising Mulla Āshqi and Qāzi Sadruddin in 1573 to ask Āli Shah to accept the Mughal suzerainty.³⁵ The envoys succeeded in their mission and on their return submitted a detailed report to Akbar on the assessment of the internal condition which was the real motive of this mission.³⁶

*Ali Shah was succeeded by Yousf Shah in A.D. 1580 but he was soon ousted by Mubārak Khān Baihaqi.³⁷ The latter was on his turn deposed after a brief occupation of three months and Yousf Shah was again proclaimed the Sultan. However, on account of the mutual dissensions he was again dethroned and Lohar Chak was declared the Sultan.³⁸ Disgusted and disappointed at the turn of affairs Yousf Shah Chak left for Lahore, via Jammu to invoke the help of Akbar through the instrumentality of Sayyid Yousf Khān.³⁹ From Lahore, Yousf Shah Chak was accompanied by Yousf Khān and Raja Man Singh, governor of Lahore to Fatehpur.⁴⁰ Haidar Chak was sent back to Kashmir to keep an eye on the developments in the kingdom, but Yousf Shah remained at the court for about one year. A contingent was sent along with Yousf Shah Chak under the command of Raja Man Singh, Yousf Khān Mashhadi and Yousf Khān Rizvī.⁴¹ At the advance of the Mughal army the Kashmiri nobles were alarmed. They approached Yousf Shah Chak through Abdāl Bhat to convince Yousf Shah about the futility of such a conquest.⁴² Leaving the Mughal forces at Sialkot Yousf Shah proceeded towards Lahore⁴³. Mohammad Bhat was awaiting Yousf Shah at Bahlolpur with an army of one thousand soldiers.⁴⁴ He marched to Lahore post-haste and with their efforts a contingent of 4000 men was raised to march on Kashmir via Rajouri—without any Mughal assistance.⁴⁵ On account of favourable conditions Yousf Shah was able to regain his throne in 1580.⁴⁶ This act of Yousf Shah roused the Jealousy and anger of the Mughal nobles who were apparently to restore him to the monarchy of Kashmir. Akbar was now too enthusiastic and precipitate to bring Kashmir under his suzerainty.⁴⁷ But his hands were tied elsewhere to allow him to prosecute his design in right earnest.

In 1581, Akbar sent Tāhir and Mirza Šāleh Aqil with a *farmān* demanding personal homage on the part of Yousf Shah,⁴⁸ who was reluctant to attend the court in person because he had been overawed by the grandure of Akbar's Court.⁴⁹ He sent his son, Haidar, along with the envoys and some rich presents.⁵⁰ Mirza Šāleh had reported to Akbar about the demoralised state of Yousf Shah.⁵¹ Akbar sent back Shaikh Yāqūb Šarfi and Haidar who was in the Court as a hostage with a conciliatory letter,⁵² directing him to persuade Yousf Shah to attend the court in person. Yousf Shah was alarmed and he sent another son and successor Yāqūb with enormous presents. Yāqūb remained at the Court for one year. ^{52a} During this

period he kept Yousf Shah informed about the intentions of Akbar. Despite these ominous developments, Yousf Shah neglected administration,⁵³ and failed to make vigorous efforts to meet the Mughal menace. Akbar on his part was alert, vigilant and fully determined to undertake an offensive in the north. He mobilised his army with intent to gain controls across the Northern frontier to achieve the annexation of Kashmir.⁵⁴ But on the other hand Yousf Shah was slack, vacillating and unprepared and led a life of ease and comfort⁵⁵ ignoring the portaits of the events to come and the imploring his nobles.⁵⁵ Since Yousf Shah did not heed the imperial demand of personal homage to Akbar. The latter decided to move in person if Yousf Shah failed to come to the Court at Lahore.⁵⁶ Yāqūb Chak learnt of all this and stole his escape from the Mughal camp advancing to Lahore and reached Kashmir to apprise Yousf Shah of the new developments.⁵⁷ Meanwhile Akbar had deputed two envoys, Hakim Ali and Baha-ud-Din to persuade the Sultan to attend the Court in person.⁵⁸ Yousf Shah went to receive the envoys as far as Thana, because he was alarmed at the truancy of Yāqūb Shah.⁵⁹ The Sultan escorted the envoys to Srinagar. He received them with great respect, but was still hesitant to agree to attend the Court in person. Some Kashmiri nobles, like Baba Khalil, Bābā Maḥdi, and Shamas Dōni threatened Yousf Shah with dire consequences should he leave for the Mughal Court. They also decided to depose him and install his son on the throne.⁶⁰ The envoys left for the Court and reported to the Emperor about the state of affairs prevailing in the kingdom.⁶¹

Akbar wanted to expand his Empire in the South, which was not possible without a secure Northern frontier.⁶² The growing power of Uzbek Empire, situation of Kabul, Roushnāi menace and refractory attitude in the North could have easily entrapped Akbar in the South.

Above all the enthusiasm which was roused among the nobility in Kashmir to protect their country because of constant interference from Akbar, might have also cautioned Akbar. The Chak nobles decided to defend the kingdom at the cost of their lives,⁶³ and Akbar did not allow them to consolidate their position. In spite of the onset of winter, Akbar deputed a considerable force under the command of Mirza 'Ali Akbar Shahi⁶⁴ and Haidar Khān⁶⁵ in December 1585.⁶⁶ Yousf Shah Chak moved towards Baramulla under the pressure of the nobles to meet the invading forces.⁶⁷ The Mughal forces encamped at

the narrow defile of Pargana Dachan-Khawūra.⁶⁸ After arraying the army, Yousf Shah marched towards the peak of Kuarmast. Skirmishes had already started near Belesa.⁶⁹ The rigorous climate⁷⁰ and the enthusiasm shown by the Kashmiri forces⁷¹ proved a hazard to the Mughal advance. They sued for peace. Bhagwan Das sent a message to Yousf Shah to his camp.⁷² In the morning Yousf Shah came down pretending to inspect his advance guard and slipped to the Imperial Camp⁷³ alongwith Mirza Qāsim, son of Khawaja Maḥdi Koka and Laṭif Najār.⁷⁴ Meanwhile Shaikh Yāqūb Ṣarfi persuaded the *zamindars* of Karnāv to cooperate with the Mughal forces.⁷⁵ On the other hand the Chak nobles approached Hasan Beg to accept the command in the absence of Yāqūb.⁷⁶ Yāqūb escaped from the Mughal Court and was proclaimed Sultan. He did not approve of the role of this father. Fighting continued fiercely around Belesa.⁷⁷ Owing to the adverse climate conditions, and the shortage of food and fodder, the Mughal forces were disheartened.⁷⁸ Meanwhile alarming news came from Kabul as to Shams-ud-Din's reverse. Under these circumstances, Raja Bhagwan Das sued for peace. A treaty was concluded partly setting out terms with Yusuf Shah and partly with the new Sultan, Yāqūb Shah.⁷⁹ Yousf Shah was promised safety of life and restoration of the kingdom of Kashmir.⁸⁰ But Akbar did not ratify this treaty⁸¹ and Yousf Shah was handed over to Todar Mal as an ordinary prisoner.⁸² But on the departure of Mughal forces, Yāqūb Shah asserted his position as independent Sultan under the title of Shah Ismail.⁸³ Since Akbar could not tolerate such a state of affairs, he was so much annoyed with Raja Bhagwan Das that he was not granted audience for a long time.⁸⁴ In 1586, Akbar asked Shah Rukh Mirza to attack Kashmir, but he was reluctant to comply with, on account of his past experiences.⁸⁵ On the other hand Shah Ismail overestimated his success. He did not try to bring closer the two Muslim sects. Being a Shiā of extreme views, he asked Qāzi Mūsā to include the name of Āli in the prayer call.⁸⁶ On his refusal Qāzi Mūsā was assassinated.⁸⁷ His religious fanaticism and extremism alienated the Sunnis from Ismail Shah.⁸⁸ The Shahmir nobility was also active from the very beginning to overthrow the Chak rule.⁸⁹

As already mentioned above Shaikh Yāqūb Ṣarfi had acted as a guide in the first expedition and pursued the Kashmiris for submission,⁹⁰ played a vital role against Yāqūb Shah. He had considerable influence over the Kashmiris, therefore, he was deputed

along with Mohammad Qāsim Khān Mir Baḥar on the expedition. While he was in the Court, Baba Dāūd Khāki, an eminent learned scholar of Kashmir also met him and informed him about the developments in Kashmir.⁹¹ Meanwhile the victorious Mughal army crossed into Kashmir and after a few skirmishes Mohammad Qāsim Khān entered the capital on 16th October, 1586.⁹² Kashmiri forces were demoralized and disintegrated, but they resorted to guerilla warfare. Mohammad Qasim Khān was so much demoralized by the continued pressure and harassment from the Kashmiris that he sent his resignation to Akbar.⁹³ But it was not accepted. On both sides there was considerable loss of life and property. Each of them tried to overpower the other and regain the control over the strategic points. But the arrival of fresh contingent under the command of Yousf Khān Rizvi infused new blood in the Mughal army.^{93 a} Kashmiri forces gave way under the pressure of the Mughals.⁹⁴ Yāqūb Chak fled to Kashtawār.⁹⁵ In order to weed out refractory nobles both humane and deceitful means were adopted to consolidate the newly acquired territory. The demoralized nobles were persuaded to trust the Mughals, while on the other hand the hostile nobles were crushed.⁹⁶ This mixed policy of suppression and pacification began to bear fruit and on the instigation of Mohammad Bhat, Lauhar Chak, son of Ibrāhīm Chak, and Ismāil Nāik surrendered before Yousf Khān Rizvi.⁹⁷ However, Yāqūb Shah, Mahmood Bhat,^{97 a} Shamas Dōni, Shamasī Chak and Abul Māali son of Muḥarak Khān Baiḥaqi, continued the confrontation, which as a matter of fact, did not serve any useful purpose.⁹⁸ When Yāqūb Khān failed to overcome the Mughals, his associates surrendered to the Mughals along with Abul Māali, Shamsī Chak, and Shamas Dōni.⁹⁹ They sued for peace through Sayyid Bahāuddin.¹⁰⁰ They were sent to Akbar and he granted them favourable *manṣab*,¹⁰¹ but they were not allowed to return to Kashmir.¹⁰²

Having broken the backbone of Kashmiri forces, Yousf Khān Rizvi now turned towards Bahram Nāik, Saif Khān Baiḥaqi, Āli Khan and Iba Khan brother of Haidar Chak.¹⁰³ Bahram Naik was poisoned along with his family members,¹⁰⁴ Saif Khan Baiḥaqi, Āli Khān, and Ibrāhīm Chak were blinded.¹⁰⁵ But Yāqūb Chak escaped to Kashtawar again.¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile Yousf Khan Rizvi was directed to leave for Kabul. He left Kashmir under the charge of Shah Baqir. On the persuasion of Latif Najar¹⁰⁷ he imprisoned Sayyid Shah Abul Māali, Alam Sher Khan, and

Lowhar Chak.¹⁰⁸ This did not help the Mughals to maintain peace in the *Ṣubah*. On account of this deteriorating situation Yousf Khān Rīzvi was sent back.¹⁰⁹ Sayyid Abul Ma'ali was released from the prison and sent to serve Raja Man Singh.

In 1589, Akbar decided to visit Kashmir.¹¹⁰ On his arrival common people thronged to see the Emperor but the belligerent chieftains were alarmed.¹¹¹ But Akbar had come to heal their wounds and patch up with the opponents and disarm them through persuasion.¹¹¹ The opponents were handsomely rewarded and the Emperor tried his best to elevate them.¹¹² Yāqūb Shah also paid homage to Akbar at Shahab-ud-Din-Pura.¹¹³ He was warmly welcomed and sent him to Lahore to serve under Raja Man Singh.¹¹⁴ Subsequently letters were sent to Abdullah Khān Uzbek making out a case in favour of the Mughals and the circumstances lead up to the whole incident of the annexation of Kashmir.¹¹⁵ Then Kabul campaign was launched and envoys were sent to the rulers of both the Tibets to accept the overlordship of Akbar.¹¹⁶ In pursuance of his expansionist policy Akbar wanted to overawe the Uzbek Emperor to keep his hands off from Kabul. The rulers of Tibet Khurd had had been providing shelter to the Chaks, as they too were reprimanded and cautioned lest they should create any trouble when the Kabul campaign was in progress.

Owing to prolonged warfare and constant mobilization of armies the economy of the kingdom was badly affected. The atrocities of the occupation army had created chaos and confusion throughout the *Ṣubah*.¹¹⁷ Both agriculture and trade were in a deteriorating condition. Administrative set up was in a mess and the downfall of the local ruling clan had badly affected the morale of the people. Akbar immediately diverted his attention towards streamlining the administration and redress the grievances of the people. He introduced a number of reforms in order to bring the administrative and economic set up in tune with that of the Empire.¹¹⁸

In spite of all checks and restraints, rewards and appeasement a heroic but unsuccessful struggle continued against the Mughals up to 1622 and even later whenever the Kashmiris had a chance to rebel against the imperial rule.¹¹⁹ Such an opportunity was afforded to them in the winter of 1590 when the *Ṣubahdar*, Yousf Khān Rīzvi, was absent from Kashmir. Akbar had sent Qāzi Nūrullah and Qāzi Āli to reassess the revenues of Kashmir on a complaint lodged by Pāndith

Tota Ram and Latif Najār,¹²⁰ charging the governor with misappropriation of revenues. The complaint proved to be correct and based on facts. The revenue was enhanced. But Yousf Khān Rizvi objected to this enhancement as the *Ṣubah* constituted his *jāgīr*.¹²¹ So the land was attached to *Khālīṣa* and the soldiers were paid in cash.^{121a} Yousf Khān Rizvi had gone to attend the Court leaving behind Mirza Yādgār in-charge of the *Ṣubah*.¹²² In his absence a servant of Husain Beg molested the wife of a servant of Rizvi.¹²³ The disaffected group raided the house of Husain Beg but on account of the interference of Baba Wali and Qāzi Āli the dispute was resolved,¹²⁴ but Husain Beg invited some of his opponents and put them to death.¹²⁵ This incident ignited the fire and a mass rising took place to overthrow the Mughal rule.¹²⁶ Darvesh Ali, Adil Beg, Yaqub Beg and Imam Quli with other servants attacked Husain Beg and Qāzi Ali. They took shelter in the Nāgar-Nagar fort,¹²⁷ meanwhile the rebels approached Mirza Yādgār; he readily accepted the offer and declared himself King in 1000 A.H./July 1592.¹²⁸ Qāzi Ali was killed and Husain Beg escaped to Rajouri.¹²⁹ On hearing this, Akbar directed Sheikh Farid Bakhari, Mir Murād, *Khawaja* Fathulla Shirāzi and others to proceed on Kashmir. Sādiq Khān was despatched via Punch.¹³⁰ The *zamindars* of Punch and Punjab, peasants of surrounding areas and a contingent of ahadis under Ali Akbar were directed to march against Yādgār Mirza.¹³¹ He had left the passes unguarded¹³² and the attacking forces entered the territory without any resistance. When Yādgār Mirza learnt of the approach of the army he marched towards Herapura.¹³³ Sheikh Farid Bakhari posted himself at Herapura¹³⁴ Shahbāz Afghan and Sard Beg Turkamān attacked Mirza Yādgār in his compound and beheaded him immediately.¹³⁵ When the incident was related to Adil Beg, who was holding charge of the city, he escaped silently to the Deccan.¹³⁶ Mohammad Quli Beg showed the severed head of Yādgār Mirza to Akbar at Bhimbar.¹³⁷ The hand of the local *zamindars* in the Yādgār rising was discernible,¹³⁸ therefore, Akbar thought of some strategem to befriend them. So with a view to attaching them to the Imperial Court through matrimonial relations. The daughter of Shamsi Chak a powerful *zamindar* was married to Akbar and the daughters of Mubarak Khān and Husain Chak were wedded to Prince Salim.¹³⁹ Some of the nobles also followed suit in marrying girls of Kashmiri nobility which did a lot in cementing bonds of affinity.¹⁴⁰ In spite of these efforts minor rebellions still continued. In 1596-97, an old person appeared in Shahābād Parganah pretending to be Umar

Shaikh Mirza, son of Mirza Sulaimān. A large number of Kashmiris and about a thousand Badakhshis followed him, but Mohd Quli Khān, the then governor of the *Subah* arrested him and sent him to the Court.¹⁴¹ Another attempt was made by Shamas Chak in 1600 A.D. which was foiled immediately.¹⁴²

On the other hand the Mughals followed a ruthless policy in putting down the rebels. In 1594, Hāji Mohammad and Yousf Dār were exiled to India. During the same period Muhib Ali, the Foujdar of Dechan Khawūrā, killed a large number of Kashmiris near Mattan.¹⁴³

Akbar's death did not put an end to the recalcitrant Kashmiri elements and the oppressive measures continued to weed out the anti-Mughal elements.¹⁴⁴ Mirza Ali Akbar, the Governor, entrapped Zaffar Khan and his followers through Qāzi Saṭeh by promising them handsome rewards and *mansabs*.¹⁴⁵ They attended the Court of Ali Akbar Shahi who got them imprisoned and ordered a general massacre of Chaks near Rainawari.^{145b} This hunt continued for a few days. Zaffar Khan, Habīb Khān, Ali Khān, sons of Yousf Khān and Naurose Chak, were also murdered.¹⁴⁶ Their bodies were displayed for a couple of days and were at last disposed of by the residents when their 'decomposed' bodies produced offensive smell.¹⁴⁷ The final blow to the insurgents was struck by I'taqād Khān in 1622,¹⁴⁸ who combed down the Chaks and freed himself for the remaining period from the rebels. Having normalised the internal situation, the Mughals diverted their attention to bring the tributary states to submission.

1. Mohibbul Hasan *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 7.
1. Philip Yefremov was a Russian traveller who remained in Tibet from 1778-80 and spent one winter in Srinagar. His Russian account has been translated into English by Kemp, P.M.
1. Humāyūn, Shershah, Kamrān, and Akbar were approached from time to time by these chieftains, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Shah Mir rule. See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Chapter VI.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultan*, p. 129
3. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 486.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 145
4. *Firishta*, II, p. 355
5. *Firishta*, II, p. 355
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, ff. 107-8
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 139, 142, 145
6. Ibid.
7. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 107b.
8. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 435 See for details, Islam in India, Vol 2, "Nurbakhshis in Kashmir" by Dr. A.M. Mattoo.
9. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 78-9.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 131b.
10. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 147b.
11. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 122b.
Ismāil Shah was son-in-law of Malik Kaji Chak.
12. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 377 *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 117a
13. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 123b.
14. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 154
His father was killed by Gāzi Shah.
15. *A.N.*, I, p. 16
16. *A.N.*, II, pp. 101-2.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 155a
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 124
- 16a. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 389. it is a village 14 miles in the North-west of Srinagar on Baramulla Road. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 125. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 150
17. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 158
18. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 383.
19. *A.N.*, II, p. 129.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 389
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 157
20. *A.N.*, II, p. 129
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 157.

21. A.N. II, p. 129.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 150-1.
Qara Bahādur was assisted by Sultan Nāzuk Shah also.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 384.
22. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 183b.
23. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 169a.
24. *Firishta*, pp. 363-4.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 127b.
26. *Firishta*, II, p. 363. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 127
27. *Firishta*, II, p. 363.
28. *Firishta*, II, p. 364, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 128
29. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 128
30. *Firishta*, II, p. 364.
31. *Firishta*, II, p. 364.
32. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 130
33. *Firishta*, II, f. 364.
34. *Bada'uni*, II, pp. 124-25.
35. A.N. II, p. 247, Hasan-Bin Mohd Al-khāki, f. 44a.
36. *Firishta*, II, p. 366, *Tahqueeqāt-i-Ameeri*, f. 88b.
37. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 335
38. *Firishta*, II, p. 366, *Iqbal Nāmā*, II, 335. Malik Haidar, 175a
39. *Firishta*, II p. 366, *Iqbal Nāmā*, II, p. 335
40. *Firishta*, II, p. 366
41. According to Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176b. Yousf did not receive any help from Akbar, he returned empty handed to Lahore does not seem correct. See
(i) *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 157.
(ii) (*Hasan-Bin Khāki* f. 46b.
Arguments advanced by Dr. Parumu, *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 266, are not convincing.
42. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 157
43. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176a
44. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176a
45. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 157
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 176. *Firishta*, p. 366.
46. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 180
47. A.N., III, p. 537. *Firishta*, II, p. 366.
48. *Badauni*, I, p. 189 *Ma'asir-i-Rahīmī*, II, p. 259
49. A.N., III, p. 389. *Tahquiqāt-i-Ameeri*, f. 88b.
50. *Malik Haidar*, f. 184a

51. A.N. III, p. 390.
52. Ibid. (ii) *Ahasanu-Tawārikh*, f. 446b. (iii) Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b. (iv) *Gouhar-i-Alam*, p. 221. According to Kashmir sources, Akbar returned the presents and Haidar pressed Yousf Shah to come in person. But it has not been mentioned in *Akbar Nama*.
- 52a. A.N. III, p. 450
53. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b.
54. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 133-4.
55. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b
- 55a. *Bahāristān-i-Shahi*, f. 172b.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 184b.
56. *Firishta*, II, p. 367
57. A.N. III, p. 509. *Iqbal Nāma*, II, p. 388.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 187a
58. A.N., III, p. 509. *Ma'asir-i-Rahīmī*, II, p. 261.
59. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* f. 187b. In *Firishta*, II, p. 367 it is mentioned as Thatta which is a clerical mistake
Ma'asir-i-Rahimi II, p. 261, has given the name as Bhandar which is not traceable.
60. *Firishta*, III, p. 367
Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, II, p. 261
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 187.
61. *Firishta*, II, p. 367.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188.
62. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV, p. 134.
V.Smith, *Akbar, The Great Mogul*, pp. 232-40.
63. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188a
64. A.N., III, p. 376 *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 355-6.
65. Haidar Khan was given a *jagir* by Raja Man Singh in Bhimber. He fled to Punjab on account of animosity with Yousf Shah, Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188b.
66. A.N., III, p. 476. *Badūni*, I, p. 189.
67. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 189-9.
68. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 188
According to A.N., III, p. 480, the army was stationed at Kuarmast and Yousf Shah encamped on the otherside of river, Nain Sukh, (A.N. III, p. 480), which is at present called Kanhar. It is a tributary of River Jhelum.
69. A.N., III, (Beveridge), p. 724 n.
R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 276n.
70. A.N., III, p. 480
71. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 109b
72. Baghwan Das was also called Baghwant Das.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 190.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 61.

73. A.N., III, p. 480.
74. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 632. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 390.
75. A.N., III, p. 480.
76. Ibid.
77. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 191.
78. A.N., III, p. 480.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 190
79. A.N., III, p. 481. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 392.
80. A.N., III, p. 481
81. A.N., III, p. 481.
82. Badauni, *Muntakhi-but-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 353.
83. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 192
84. A.N., III, p. 488
85. A.N., II, p. 493.
86. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 400. A.N., III, p. 502
87. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 192.
Iqbal Nama, II, p. 400
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 181.
88. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 400
89. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 181-89.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 145-192, 193-195.
90. A.N., III, p. 480.
91. *Gauhari-i-'Alam*, f. 233. Baba Dāūd, Khāki was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoomi.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 184, A group of Kashmiri Ulama proceeded to the Court of Akbar from Multan. They were led by Shaikh Yāqūbi-Ṣarfī and Baba Dāūd Khaki. They concluded a treaty with Akbar and promised their help unconditionally. But neither the contemporary Mughal sources like, A.N., Badauni, *Firishta*, nor Kashmiri sources support this. However, it is beyond doubt that the Sunnis helped the Mughals during this period, as they could not face the tyranny of the Chak rulers.
92. A.N., III, p. 506. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 410. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 198. For the details of the incidents and battles, see Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Chapter IX & X. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol II, p. 48, has given 1588, which is incorrect.
93. A.N., III, p. 523. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 189. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 413.
- 93a. Suka, *Raja Tarangini* (tr. J.C. Dutt), pp. 413-14.
94. A.N., III, p. 509, (*Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 402.
95. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 193.
96. A.N., III, p. 523. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 195.

97. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 191. Mohammad Bhat was an influential noble of Kashmir. He was *wazir* of Yousf Shah Chak also. On account of luxurious attitude of Yousf Shah their relations deteriorated.
- 97b. Muḥ Bhat of Abul Fazl, *A.N.*, III, p. 506
98. *Baharistān-i-Shāhi*, f. 193.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmīr*, ff. 202-3.
99. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 193
100. *A.N.*, III, pp. 516, 523
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 194.
101. *A.N.*, III, p. 528. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 194.
102. Ibid
103. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 194.
104. Ibid, f. 195a.
105. *A.N.*, III, p. 523
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 195a
106. Ibid., f. 196b.
107. *A.N.*, III p. 595.
(*Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 197, 204ab, calls him Lūlla Najar but according to Hasan Beg Al-Khaki, f. 35, his name was Latif Najar. He was given the title of *Nādirul-Asrī* by Akbar.
108. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 196.
109. Ibid
110. *A.N.*, III, p. 542
Baduni, *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*, II, p. 371.
Akbar entered Srinagar on June 5, 1589/25th Khurdād, 34th R.Y. According to *Nawadirul-Akḥbār*, f. 119, it was in 996H/1587 is incorrect. The chronogram of the visit given by him Khair Muqadam is also incorrect as it is equivalent to 994/1505. According to Mohibbul Hasan, Akbar visited Kashmir in June 1588., *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 192.
111. *A.N.*, III, p. 540
112. Ibid.
113. *A.N.*, III, p. 541. This village is situated on the confluences of River Jhelum and Nalla Sindh.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 417
114. *A.N.*, III, p. 557.
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 417
115. *A.N.*, III, pp. 522-3
116. *A.N.*, III, p. 553.
117. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 416
118. *A.N.*, III, p. 557. *Iqbāl Nama*, II, p. 410
Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, tr. J.C. Dutt, pp. 420-1.

119. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* off. 204 a-b.
120. A.N., III, p. 595. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 204a-b.
121. A.N., III, p. 595
- 121a *Akbarnama*, III, p. 627
122. A.N., III, p. 618
123. *Iqbāl-Nama*, II, p. 429 ✓
Husain Beg Khan was appointed as *Diwan* in 1589. See Chapter III, Section I, II, for details See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawāriq*, tr. W.H. Lowe, II, pp 394-95
124. A.N., III, pp. 617-8. *Iqbāl Nama*, II, p. 429
125. Ibid
126. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 204
127. A.N., III, p. 619
128. A.N., III, p. 618. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 415
According to *Inshāi-Abul Fazl*, p. 29, this incident took place in 31 R.Y. corresponding to 1586. It appears to be a clerical mistake.
129. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 204b.
130. A.N., III, p. 618
131. A.N., III, pp. 618-20.
132. Ibid, p. 623
133. Ibid. (ii) *Gulshan-i-Balāgat*, ff. 50-1.
134. *Gulshan-Balāgat*, ff. 50-1. Hastivanj, of Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, p. 419. According to the same authority Yādgār Miza was killed by his own servants. Yādgār Mirza was not brother of Yousf Khān Rizvi but his cousin. A.N., III, p. 617. *Māsirul-Ūmara*, III, p. 316, R.K. Parmu, has wrongly mentioned that the author calls him nephew of Yousf Khān Rizvi, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 292n.
135. A.N., III, pp. 623-4 *Gulshan-i-Balāghat*, ff. 50-1
136. A.N., III, p. 624. *Gulshan-i-Balāghat*, ff. 50-1
137. A.N., III, p. 623
138. A.N., III, p. 626
139. A.N., III, p. 626
140. A.N., III, p. 626
141. A.N., III, p. 723. *Iqbal Nama* II, p. 452
142. A.N., III, p. 784
143. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 205a.
144. Ibid, ff. 205-6b.
145. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 208a.
- 145b Rainawari is a Mohalla of Srinagar
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid, ff. 209a-210b.
148. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 125

FURTHER CONQUESTS AND EXPANSION

I. Relations with Askardu & Ladakh

Perennial civil wars under the Sultans subsequent to the death of Zainul-Ābidin and foreign intervention had adversely affected the relations subsisting between Kashmir and the tributary states. The disintegration started earlier, reached its climax during the Chak rule. After the Mughal annexation in 1586 the adjacent territories particularly Kashtwar and Tibet-Khurd had become the refuge of defeated Kashmiris. These refractory nobles were a constant source of trouble to the Mughals, and a threat to the Mughal rule in Kashmir. As such the Mughals felt free to divert their attention and make a bid to bring about the subjugation of the vasa states viz., Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār and Punch.

During his first visit in 1589, Akbar sent two envoys Mirza Beg and Mulla Tālib Asfahāni and Mehtar Yārī to Little and Greater Tibet respectively,¹ in order to persuade Ali Rāi² of Askardu² not to extend help and assistance to the Chak rebels, and probably to Safeguard the northern frontier against any possible attack from the Uzbeks. The Chieftains were asked to accept the Suzerainty of Akbar. In 1592 Ali Rai entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughals. His daughter was married to Prince Salim.³ Yet he did not desist from coming to the succour of the Chaks.⁴ In 1603, he came in person to help Iba Khān, son of Husain Khan and Zafar Khan, but returned to his own territory without any encounter with the Mughals.⁵

Ali Sher himself was following a policy of expansion in the region. In 1592, he attacked even the territory of Greater Tibet.⁶ The ruler of Ladakh gave his daughter to Ali Sher in marriage,⁷ besides surrendering some adjoining territory which was annexed with Askardu. Jamyang-Namgyal, the ruler of Ladakh, was allowed to retain the rest of his territory.⁸ Ali Sher Khan had three sons, Ādam Khān, Abdāl and Ahmad Khān.⁹ During his life he assigned Parkota and Kartakhsha¹⁰ to Abdāl Khān. Ādam Khan was appointed heir apparent and Rounda was assigned to Ahmad Khān. After the death of Ali Sher Khān in 1622,¹¹ his sons fought for succession. Abdāl was triumphant and Ādam Khān escaped to India.¹²

It has been mentioned above that Ali Sher Khān had a desire to bring the entire region under his sway. He annexed Rounda, Shigar, and the adjacent principalities. A fortress was also built by him on the

confluence of the Gilgit river and Shyok.¹³ Thus he has left a powerful kingdom to his son Abdāl Khān. Growing power of Abdāl Khān and his policy towards the Mughals was a sufficient cause for the Mughal intervention in this region. As a matter of fact this territory was never reduced to virtual submission.¹⁴ Any further delay would have been futile to the Mughal interests in Kashmir, particularly when Mughal relations with Šafvids and Uzbeks were strained.¹⁵ This opportunity was provided by Ādam Khān. With a view to avenging his defeat at the hand of Abdāl Khān, Ādam Khān sought the help of Shahjahan¹⁶ who directed Zafar Khan to march against Abdāl Khān. In September 1637, Zafar Khān marched against Abdāl Khān at the head of 8000 soldiers.¹⁷ Meanwhile Abdāl Khān had garrisoned his newly built fortresses of Kechna and Kharpoche.¹⁸ He left the fortress of Khechna under the charge of Muhammad Murād.¹⁹

On arrival at Askardu, Zafar Khān divided his army in three sections—under Kunwar Singh Kashtawari and Muhammad Zamān a relative of Farhād Beg Blouch, Hussain Nāik along with the *zamindārs* of Kashmir and the third group under his own command. Abdāl had left his family in fortress of Shigar under the care of his minor son.²⁰ Zafar Khān deputed a contingent under Mir Fakhruddin to attack the fortress of Shigar, which compelled Abdāl Khān to come out of impregnable fort of Kharpoche.²¹ But he failed in his attempt and the Mughals carried on the operation according to their plan²² under the able guidance of Ādam Khān.²³ But he made good his escape and left for Kashgar leaving the rest of the family behind in the fort.²⁴ When Abdāl Khān came to know about the fall of the fortress, he sued for peace through Shādmān Pakhliwāl.²⁵ He surrendered the fort in September, 1637, and the *khutba* was recited in the name of the Emperor.²⁶

The expedition culminated in success on account of the superiority of Mughal arms and superior strategy rather than treachery.²⁷ Zafar Khan brought Abdāl Khān along with his family to Kashmir.²⁸ A *Thānedār* was also appointed in Shigar²⁹ while the Mughals were advancing in Tibet, Abdāl had deputed sons of Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak to create disturbances in Kashmir, so as to compel the Mughals to return, but they were not successful in this attempt.³⁰ Since the winter season was approaching and there was no way to return, so Zafar Khān had no alternative but to leave for

Kashmir as soon as possible. He entrusted the territory to the *vakīl* of Abdāl Khān.³¹ Shahjahān did not ratify the treaty and Zafar Khān, on his arrival to Srinagar, was asked to attend the Court.³² Ādam Khān was appointed as *Tai'nāti* in Kashmir with a *manṣab* of 500/200,³³ which was enhanced to 1000/400 in 1638³⁴ and Askardū was assigned to him in *jāgīr*. In 1640 he was appointed *Qiladār* of the fortresses of Kharpoche and Khechna.³⁵ Ādam Khān died in 1656, and Askardū was assigned to Murād Khān, nephew of Ādam Khān.³⁶ His rank was increased to 1000/1000 in 1074 A.H./1663-64.³⁷ It may not be out of place to mention that Ādam Khān was administering his *jāgīr* of Askardū as an absentee landlord from Srinagar through Mirza Khān,³⁸ Mirza, in the absence of his master, proclaimed independence. Ādam Khān marched against him with Mohammad Shafi and Ālim Beg who were sent to him in 1666-67³⁹ for assistance. Imām Quli Khān had already accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. Shigar was assigned to him in *jāgīr*.⁴⁰ Thus the whole of Baltistān and Askardū were brought under the suzerainty of the Mughals.⁴¹

1. A.N., III, pp. 552, 569
2. He was only a chieftain of the principality of Askardū. He was called Āli Sher Khān and was successor of Gāzi Mir. (i) Cunningham, *Ladakh*, etc. pp. 30-34. Zanskār, Nubra and Rukchu. The territory is bounded by mountain range of Korakuram, tributaries of Indus and on the south-east by Lāhul and Spiti now a territory of Himachal Pradesh. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, etc. pp. 18-22. (ii) Hashmatullah Khān, pp. 503-4. He was accepted as an overlord by the petty chieftains of Shigar, Purik, Sūru, and Drās, collectively called Little Tibet and Greater Tibet comprising Zanskār, Nūbra and Rukchu.
- 2a. Shakardu of *Bādshah Nāma*, Lahori, II, p. 282.
- 3a. A.N., III, p. 603.
4. A.N., III, pp. 823-4, *Iqbal Nāma*, II, pp. 497-8
5. *Ibid.* According to *Akbarnama* and *Iqbal Nama*, Ali Rai was frightened on hearing the news of the arrival of Mughal contingents under Saifullah but according to *Buhārīstān-i-Shāhi*, f. 206, he was disgusted when he came to know about the mutual hatred of Kashmiri nobles.
6. A.N., III, pp. 823-24.
Majālisul-Mominin, p. 49. *Iqbal Nāma*, II, p. 454.

7. Franke *History of Western Tibet*, p. 106.
Fillippo-De-Fillipi, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, etc. pp. 44-6, 217. See also the new edition of the same by S.S. Girgan and F.M. Husnain, P. 110.
A.N. III, p. 731, mentions that it was Ali Zād who attacked Leh. It appears to be a mistake for Ali Rai.
8. According to A.N., III; p. 731, and *Iqbāl Nama*, II, p. 454, Kaliyūm Kokaltāsh was the ruler of Ladakh who was defeated by Alizād and a relative of the deposed ruler was given the territory which is not supported by the Tibetan sources. (i) Franck, *History of Western Tibet*, p. 106. On the other hand Hashmatullah Khān, in his book, *Tarikh Jamu wa Kashmir wa Riyāsathi Maftūhā*, pp. 503-4, mentions on the basis of *Shigar Nāmā*, a contemporary history of Shigar that it was Gāzi Mīr who was ruling Askardu and Ali Sher Khan Inchan (Ali Rai) was only heir apparent, but Cunningham, in *Ladakh*, etc. p. 30, states that Ali Sher Khān succeeded Gāzi Mīr in 1590, IV Vigne, *Travels* etc. p. 252.
9. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 507-8.
10. Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc., pp. 19-20.
11. Ibid. p. 34.
12. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 98
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 507-8.
13. Ibid. p. 505.
14. *Badshah Nama*, Lahori, I, pp. 281-2.
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 253.
Qazvini, *Shahjahan Nāma*
15. Since the fall of Qandahār, relations between Persia and India were strained. The Transoxiana developments were also alarming and as such, any further delay on the part of Shahjahan would have gone against the interests of the Mughals. For the details, see Athar Ali, "Objectives Behind the Blakh and Badakhshan Expedition in 1643-4," *Medieval India A Miscellany*, Vol II, and B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, pp. 182-209, 210-236, 315.
116. *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 98
17. *IHQ*, Vol. 8, pp. 171-95. *Badshah Nama*, I, pp. 281-5.
Zafar Khan did not subdue Greater Tibet as put by *Waqiāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 138
Franck, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, pp. 109-10.
Bādshah Nama, I, pp. 281-5. In *Amal-i-Sālih*, I, p. 255.
18. *Kechna* has been wrongly mentioned as *Gajnāk*.
Vigne, *Travels*, etc. Vol II, p. 252.
19. Muhammad Murad was *Vakil* of Abdāl Khān *Bādshah Nama*, I, p. 282. *Qazvini*, III, f. 414.
20. The ruler of Shigar was Hasan Khān, son of Mohammad Khān. Mohammad Khān had twelve sons and Hasan Khān was the eldest son. He was defeated by Abdāl during an encounter and his younger brothers were killed.
Hasan Khān sought shelter in Kashmir.
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc pp. 507-8.
Cunningham is silent about this incident. According to his chronology, it was Ama Chand De, who ruled Shigar from 1605 to 1680, *Ladakh-Political Physical* etc. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, I, pp. 282-3. *Qazvini*, III, f. 416.

21. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, II, pp. 283.
22. *Ibid.*, (ii) *Qazvini Shahjahan Nāma*, III, f. 415.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, II, p. 283.
Amal-i-Ṣālih, II, p. 359.
Qazvini, III, f. 414.
 All the three sources have not mentioned the name of his minor son.
25. *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 284, Shādmān Pakhliwal was son of Sultan Husain Pakhliwāl. After his death Pakhli was assigned to Shādmān Pakhliwāl in 1624, *Tuzuk*, p. 367.
26. *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 285. *Qazvini*, III, f. 415
 The keys of the fort were handed over on 7th Rabi II, 1047, corresponding to September, 1637, and not 1634 as put by Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 508.
27. Saksena, B.P. *History of Shahjahān* etc. pp. 113-4.
28. *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 285.
29. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 613
30. Kambu, *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, III, p. 262.
31. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 286, While Zafar Khān was coming back, he arrested all of them and brought them to Kashmir *Qazvini*, III, p. 416.
32. *Badshah Nama*, Lahori, I (II), p. 286. *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 262. Since the conclusion of any treaty with a warring chieftain appears to have been the prerogative of the Emperor only, and under these limitations the Subahdar was not entitled to enter into any such agreement. Here we may also refer to the abrogation of the treaty concluded by Bagh Wan Dās and Yousf Shah Chak, by Akbar. See Chapter I.
33. *Bādshah Nama*, I (II), p. 286.
34. *Ibid.*, II, p. 98.
35. *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 98.
36. *Bādshah Nama*, Waris, II, f. 359.
37. Mohammad Kāzim, *Ālamgir Nāma*, II, p. 860
38. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, pp. 514-17.
39. When Ādam Khān regained control over his waṭan, a mosque was built in Askardo, and *Khutba* was recited in the name of Aurangzeb (i) *Tārīkh-i-Shāhi Jahānī-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 133b. (ii) Bernier, *Travels* etc. p. 402. (iii) Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 514-17.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 532-3.
41. Desideri *Travels*. p. 117

II. Relations with Great Tibet (Ladakh):

Ladakh was not a united territory under one rule right up to 1000 A.D. It was divided among various chieftains and towards the end of 10th Century it was consolidated into a single country.¹ Having a close relationship with Central Tibet, Buddhism made its headway and a number of monasteries sprang up. In the sixteenth century Lāchen dynasty was succeeded by Namgyāl dynasty.² Namgyāl reduced to submission a number of principalities and a large area, previously under the control of Central Tibet.³ He was succeeded by Jamyōng — Namgyāl in 1560.⁴ During his reign (1560-90) a quarrel took place between Khir Sultan of Dkartse and Purig Sultan of Chiktan.⁵ He came to the help of one of the chieftains while the other appealed to Ali Sher Khān for help which he readily accepted on account of his expansionist policy.⁶

Jamyang Nangyal was defeated and Ladakh was over run by the Balits.⁷ In order to control Ladakh, Ali Shēr Khān offered his daughter, Tārā, to the son of Jamyang-namgyal.⁸ After the death of Ali Shēr Khān, again the difference came to surface. Dal-dyn-Namgyāl wanted to avenge the previous defeat by his bid to vanquish the Sultan of Purig.⁹ He waged a war against Purig and other principalities. Sen-ge-Nam-agyāl had a resolute mind to annex these territories.¹⁰ His powerful commander, Shkya-gy-gyo-cho¹¹ wanted to raise the prestige of Ladakh which was previously, infused by Ali Shēr Khān. It appears the Mughal dependency of Little Tibet sought the help of the Mughals and Muhammad Shafi and Maṣhoob Beg led a contingent in 1666-67. Ladakhis were defeated and a treaty was concluded. The ruler promised to construct a mosque for the convenience of the Muslims. But according to the Tibetan Sources the Mughals were repulsed, leaving behind dead bodies and arms.¹² But we cannot brush aside the inscription of "Kācha-Masjid" bearing the year 1077 A.H./1666-7 for its foundation. But Schlagintweels mentions that the mosque was built in water-Tiger-Year (1602+12-1614) and completed in water-Horse-year (1602+52-1654). In support of this assertion he mentions an inscription found by him in Hemis Gompa.¹³ The Mughals and Kashmir chronicles do not support his conjecture. The difference in the chronology appears to have been caused by lacunary Buddhist manuscripts.¹⁴ It appears that the Mughal expedition through it was unsuccessful and did not bring any kind of

territorial gain to the Mughals. However, an opportunity was provided to them in 1683-4, which later on paved the way for the Mughal conquest of Ladakh.

Dalai Lama had supremacy over Lamaism since a pretty long time, but this power was religious while political power vested in the hands of the Mongols who had a strong man in Guzrī Khān. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Hag-dhan-bho-bzon, through sheer diplomatic skill and the clever use of his political acumen used Guzrī Khān to raise his prestige.¹⁵ The Namgyal dynasty had accepted the spiritual as well as political hegemony of the Lhasa Lamasary.¹⁶

In 17th Century, during the reign of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, a Lama of the red-sect called Stag-tsang-raschan (Raspa) came to Ladakh.¹⁷ His presence was resented to by the Dalai Lama and Dalās Khān as well.¹⁸ It appears the ruler of Ladakh had also been influenced by his teachings and on the other hand Mughal interference was also increasing in this region. So an army was sent under dGa-IDan-Ts's-DBan-dPal-bznpe.¹⁹ On his way to Ladakh he involved Kheri Singh, the chieftains of Bashāhār territory in this adventure. He was granted uninterrupted caravan facilities in the district of Nāris.²⁰ On account of the winter season he remained in the fortress of Bazgo,²¹ after defeating Sakya-rgya-rgya-mtso near Tashingong.²² However the further advance was checked. Ladakhis also took shelter in fortress of Tsaprang.²³ Meanwhile a fresh reinforcement of a contingent arrived from Lhasa to the help of the Tibetans which compelled Nam-rgyal to seek the help of the Mughals. He appealed Ibrāhīm Khān, Subehdār of Kashmir, for his help against the Tibetans,²⁴ who had almost overrun the whole of Ladakh.²⁵ Although the Mughals had no intentions of expansion in this region but the presence of a powerful enemy was not to be tolerated on the cost of the defeat of Vasal Chieftains. So, an expeditionary force was formed in Kashmir with troops called from Kabul and local forces. The command was given to Fidāī Khān, son of Ibrāhīm Khān in 1682-83.²⁶ The Mughals were joined by the forces of Sakardo and the Ladakhi forces after crossing Zoji-La. The Tibetan and Qalmāq troops were defeated and chased beyond Pitak and without any rest they left for Tāshigong.²⁷

On the culmination of the war a treaty was concluded among Tibetans, Ladakhis and the Mughals.²⁸

The war had a great importance in shaping the destiny of western Himalayas. The borders defined and demarcated by the Ladakhis and the Tibetans on the Northern side still continue to be the boundary of modern Jammu and Kashmir. Before this war the Mongols had supremacy over the Ladakhis but this war once for all decided the future of Ladakh. The ruler accepted Islam under the name of Āqabat Mahmood Khān with a rank of 3000-2000. Ladakh was assigned to him in lieu of his submission.²⁹

1. Fillipo-de-Fillipi, *Hamalaya-Karakoram*, etc. pp. 176-7.
2. *Ibid.* Based on the translation of Tibetan Sources by a German Scholar Karl Marx and published and denoted by Fillipo in the above book.
3. Francke-*Antiquities of Tibet*, p. 106, translation of a Tibetan Source *La-Drasgs-Rgyal-RABS*, spelt as *Hjamdbyans-rNam-rgyal*.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, (ii) Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc. p. 24.
There is a variation so far as the spellings of various proper nouns are concerned. Cunningham has not followed the same principle of transliteration as has been adopted by Franck, Fillipo and Petech.
6. Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc. pp. 324-26.
Hashmatullah Khān *Tārīkh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 697.
7. *Ibid.*
According to Cunningham, on the basis of Tibetan chronicles the incident occurred on account of the appointment of Sikya-gyo-cho as commander. His appointment was resented by Raspa or Raschan a Lama of Ladakh who had come to Ladakh to propagate the Red Sect.
Ladakh-etc., p. 177.
8. Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political*, etc. pp. 77 251.
Tara in Budhist tradition is considered to be incarnation of the wives of the Tibetan King who introduced Buddhism in Tibet, *Fillipi-de-Filipi*, p. 177.
Iqbal Nama, II, p. 454. She was known as *Thi La Khatun* or *Ziri* in Tibetan Sources. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. p. 697. She was accompanied by Akhun Muhammad Sharif, who started the propagation of Islam in Sūrū and Kar'tsē. But Tibetan sources are silent about this.
9. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 697. During this period the said principalities were ruled by Hatim Khan, Babar and 'Yāqūb who were the sons of the daughter of Shah Murād of Askardu.
10. *Bādshah Nama*, II (I), pp. 159-60.
Petech, *China & Tibet in early 18th Century*, p. 176

11. Mohammad Kāzīm, *Ālamgir Nama*, II, pp. 920-3:
 Mohammad Ṣādiq Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Shahjahānī-wa-Ālamgīrī*,
 f. 133b.
M.U., II, pp. 432-3.
 Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 312.
12. Petech, *China and Tibet in 18th Century*, p. 182.
 Franck, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, II, pp. 146-7.
The Chronicles of Ladakh, p. 108. (These sources are translated by Schlag in
 fweels).
13. Franck, *The Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 108
14. In spite of the construction of the mosque, Islam does not seem to have made any
 headway in Ladakh. Secondly, the Mughals were not able to control Ladakh even
 temporarily.
15. Petech, "IHQ, Vol. 8," pp. 8-9.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Fillipo-de-Fillipi, *Himalaya-Karakoram*, etc, p. 177.
18. Dalas Khan was son and successor of Guzri Khan the Temporal chief of Ladakh.
 Petech, "IHQ. V. 23," 1947,
 III, p. 175.
19. dGa-Ldan-Tse-Dban was the Lama of Tashilunpo Lamasary and first cousin of
 Guzri Khan. He was an able general and an administrator. After the death of Tashi
 Lama in 1662, he was able to maintain law and order in the market of Tashi Lungo.
 Petech, "IHQ, Vol 23, III," p. 182.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
21. Petech, "IHQ, Vol 23, III," p. 182-3.
 Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 130.
22. Petech, "IHQ, 23, III," p. 178
23. Tsaprang 79°-28', longitude and 31°-14' latitude was the capital of district Gugua.
 According to Fillipo, the Ladakhis took shelter in the fortress of Temesgam.
Himalaya-Karakoram, etc. p. 177.
24. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175.
 Manucci, II, p. 220.
 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 21.
25. Petech, "IHQ, 23, III," p. 181-2.
26. *Ma'asir-i-Ālamgīrī*, (Sarkar), p. 144.
 Fillipo-de-Fillipi, *Himalaya-Karakoram*, etc. p. 176-7.
 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 21.
27. Petech, "IHQ, 23, III," p. 184.
28. It has not been mentioned in the Tibetan Sources.

29. "Akhbārāt, 43rd R.Y."

Wāqīāt-i-Kashmīr, p. 175.

Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri (Sarkar), p. 144.

Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 311-12.

Tibetan Sources translated by Petech, Francks,

Fillipo-de-Filipi and Karl Marx don't agree with the Mughal sources, so far as the conversion of the ruler is concerned. After this incident Āqabat Mahmood Khān continued construction of Mani walls and Lama—Series. It appears the Tibetan sources have deliberately committed this mistake. See "Akhbarat 43rd year." The Mughal Governors did not allow the ruler of Ladakh, to revert to Buddhism which is the conjecture of L. Petech, "IHQ, Vol 23, III," p. 193. In 43rd R.Y. of Aurangzeb Nalpa-Namgyal who succeeded his father requested Aurangzeb to confer on him the title of Masood Khān with the same *Mansab* of his father 3000/2000. "Akhbārāt Rabi, I, 43rd R.Y." His brother was given the *mansab* of 500/500. *Ibid.* It is also not born out by facts that the Mughals had not any territorial claim on Ladakh. *A.N. III*, p. 731. The revenue records of subsequent period include Greater Tibet as a Sarkar of Suba Kashmir, *Desideri* also supports our inference. *Desideri, Travels*, p. 72. See also *Critical introduction and annotations to A History of Ladakh* by A.H. Francke, New Delhi, 1977.

III. RELATION WITH KASHTAWĀR:

Kashtawār state situated in the interior of the Himalayas bounded by Ladakh in the North, Pāḍar and Chamb in the east, Bhadrawah on the south and Kashmir on the west, extending from Nagāun to Rāmban. It consisted of Kashtawār, Nagāun, Sartāli, Sūrūr, Bhaujwah, Dachin and Murū-wardwan, Udil, Kontawārā, and Dodasaraj.¹ Since early times Kashtawār was a tributary of Kashmir and allied with the Kashmiri Sultans by matrimonial alliances.²

During 1584-1622, the rulers of Kashtawār sheltered the defeated Chak nobles. Support and active help of Kashtawāris encouraged them to create trouble in Kashmir. During the first Mughal expedition in 1586. Yāqūb Chak played havoc in the lines of Mughal force with the help of Kashtawār.³ Raja Gunwar Sēn extended his full assistance to Loḥar Chak and Iba Chak subsequently.

On account of internal disorders and chaotic condition in the Ṣubah, Akbar could not divert his attention towards this territory, besides his hands were also full elsewhere.⁴ But the continuous interference on the part of the Chaks, compelled the Mughals to adopt an expansionist policy in this direction.

In 1617-18 Ahmad Beg Khān was appointed Ṣubehdār of Kashmir on the condition that he would carry on the Kashtawār expedition, but on account of his failure he was transferred in 1619.⁵ He was succeeded by Dilāwar Khān, who promised to annex Kashtawār within two years.⁶ In order to carry on his adventure he sought the help of Malik Haidar and Malik Āli.⁷ Malik Āli was fully acquainted with the routes leading to Kashtawār. Dilāwar Khān led the expedition personally. The attack was launched via Sanginpura and after a tough fighting the Raja was defeated and captured by the men of Dilawar Khān in 1622.⁸ Dilāwar Khān left for Kashmir leaving behind Naṣrullah Ārab in charge of the newly acquired territory.⁹ Raja Gunwar Sēn was brought to the presence of Jahāngīr at Baramulla.¹⁰ In reward of his services Dilāwar Khān was given the revene of Kashtawār in *Ina'm*.¹¹ Since Gunwar Sēn declined to surrender his sons as hostage, he was deported to Gwalior prison where he remained for two years.¹²

Consequent upon the departure of the Mughal forces the Kashtawāris revolted in 1623 on account of the harsh and oppressive attitude of Naṣrullah Ārab and his men.¹³ Jahāngīr appointed Jallal to

put down the insurrection,¹⁴ but he did not succeed in his attempt and Iradat Khan was directed to subdue the uprising.¹⁵ Raja Sangrām Singh was also directed to help Irādāt Khān in this expedition.¹⁶

The revolt was put down and *Thānās* were established with large garrisons adequately provisioned. Meanwhile Gunwar Sēn was released from the Gawalior fort in 1624 and Kashtawār was assigned to him as *Waṭan Jāgīr*.¹⁷ After this arrangement Kashtawār remained peaceful, but in 1662-63, Saif Khān, the Subehdār of Kashmir, sent a revenue official to collect the annual *peshkash* from Rajā Mahā Singh, as he was reluctant to pay the tribute.¹⁸ When Aurangzeb came to know the intention of the Raja, he directed Mohammad Amin Khān, Subehdār of Lahor, to caution the Raja of the dire consequences of his rebellious attitude.¹⁹ It appears that the Raja had submitted to the imperial behest and his son had joined the imperial service and later served in the Deccan in 1682-83.²⁰

Mahā Singh was succeeded by Jayā Singh. He bore a hostile attitude towards the Muslims.²¹ During his regime a Muslim saint *Shah Faridudīn Qādiri* came to Kashtawār, where he influenced a large number of people by his piety.²² One day Raja Jayā Singh also attended his meeting and he too could not resist the temptation to join his faith and his enmosity towards Muslims turned into love and respect. Raja Jayā Singh after conversion was given the name of *Bakhtiyār Khān*.²³ On account of his earlier attitude towards Muslims and his enmosity with his brother Sardār Singh, the Emperor Aurangzeb was not happy with him. In order to neutralise the efforts of Sardār Singh, he sent his son, Kirat Singh as his *Vakīl* to the Court.²⁴ He succeeded *Bakhtiyār Khān* in 1681.²⁵ Ram Singh, uncle of Kirat Singh, had no cordial relations with him. He complained to Aurangzeb about the atrocities done to the Muslims by Kirat Singh.²⁶ On this complaint, *Qāzi* Abul Qasim was appointed as *Qāzi* of Kashtawār by Aurangzeb. He was directed to pursue Raja Kirat Singh to attend the Court or face the imperial wrath.²⁷ Kirat Singh bowed before the imperial will and entered into an agreement promising the safety of Muslims and help to develop a congenial atmosphere for the propagation of Islam.²⁸ But soon after the departure of *Qāzi*, there was a revolt against the imperial rule, a large number of Muslims were killed and many more expelled from Kashtawār. Innayi-tullah Khan took shelter in the *Khanqah* of Shah Farid. When these reports reached Kashmir, an army was despatched to put down the rebellion.

Raja Kirat Singh promised to concede the Mughal demands. Subsequently embraced Islam under the influence of Shah Farid, and assumed the name of Sa'ādat Yār Khān.²⁹

Henceforth, Kashtawār remained under the Mughal control as part of the Ṣubah of Kashmir.³⁰

IV: RAJOURI

Rajouri comprised valley Munāwwar Tawi and its tributaries. It is situated to the south of Pir Panjal range dividing it from the valley of Kashmir. On the west, it is bounded by Punch and Kotli, on the south by Bhimber and in the east by the river of Chināb. It remained throughout our period a subsidiary of the Ṣubah of Kashmir.³¹

A fort was built by Akbar during his first visit at Noushahra, a principality of Parganah Rajouri.³²

The principality was assigned to Raja Hayāt Khān in *watan Jāgīr*, and under Shahjahān and family entered into matrimonial relations³³ with the Mughals.

V: PAKHLI

Pakhli was spread over whole territory lying between Kashmir in the east and the Indus in the West, including the lower valley of Kishanganga and those of its tributaries.³⁴ On the south it was surrounded by the Gakhar territory.³⁵

During the Sultanate period, it was a tributary of Kashmir but after the fall of Kashmir in 1586, it constituted a separate *Sarkar* of Ṣubah of Kabul.³⁶ Later on it was included in the Ṣubah of Kashmir.³⁷ In 1589, Akbar assigned Pakhli as *Watan Jāgīr* to Sultan Husain. He promised to pay a regular *peshkash* but on account of the representation of some officers to enhance the revenue, he rebelled,³⁸ and Akbar assigned Pakhli to Husain Beg Sheikh Umari in *jāgīr*.³⁹ While taking over the charge of the new *jāgīr*, Hindal, son of Sultan Husain, proclaimed himself the Sultan under the title of Sultan Naṣeer.⁴⁰ Due to meagre resources he could not resist the imperial pressure.⁴¹ But the following year Pakhli was resorted to Sultan Husain.⁴² Jahāngīr increased his *maṣṣab* to 600/300 in 1620.⁴³ He died in 1624 and the *zamindāri* of Pakhli was given to Shādmān Pakhliwāl.⁴⁴

VI: PUNCH:

The territory comprised the valleys of river Tohi and its tributaries. It was known as Lohra also.⁴⁵ It had always been a dependency of Kashmir.⁴⁶ During the Chak rule Lohra, became independent.⁴⁷

It appears that during the first Mughal expedition in 1584, Punch accepted the overlordship of the Mughals. In 1618-19, there was a revolt in Punch which was suppressed by the Subehdar of Kashmir in 1620 with the assistance of Malik Ali and Malik Haidar.⁴⁸

There were some other minor principalities near the mountainous regions which were reduced to submission and annexed to the Subah of Kashmir. During the Mughal rule the boundaries of the Subah of Kashmir extended to all directions. (During this period the borders with Central Tibet were also demarcated) and the following principalities were added to Subah of Kashmir: Ladakh, Baltistān, Gilgit, Sarshāl, Damyāl, Damtūr, Pakhli, Noushahra, Rajouri and Punch.⁴⁹

1. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 638, has included Banihal parganah with Kashtawār, which is not correct. Banihāl was always ruled from Kashmir even before the Mughal annexation, (ii) Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 18, 209, and continued to be a parganah of the Mughal Subah of Kashmir, A.N. (Bloch), p. 835, (iii) Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 204, (iv) Forster, *Travels*, I, p. 349. (v) Vigne, *Travels*, I, p. 204.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 208-9.
3. Tuzuk, p. 294.
4. In order to destroy the hiding place of Chaks Mohammad Quli Khān launched an attack in 1604 via Maru-wardwn valley. But could not succeed in his attempt, however, the Raja assured a regular tribute, but this was never carried on till his defeat in 1622. A.N., III, p. 523. (ii) Iqbal Nama, II, pp. 506-7. (iii) Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, p. 649. According to him this was launched in 1606 which is not correct, because Mohammad Quli Khān was transferred and Mirza 'Ali Akbar Shāhi was appointed Subehdar of Kashmir in 1605 A.D.. Tuzuk, pp. 11.
5. Tuzuk, p. 294.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214a.
Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 282.
6. Tuzuk, pp. 225, 294. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 214a, 216a-b.

7. *Iqbal Nama*, II, p. 561.
Kāmgār Husain, *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 127-8.
Malik Haidar the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, was a noble of Yousf Shah Chak. He was given the *Zamindāri* of his residential pargana Chadoora by Jahangir and the title of *Raisul Mulk* and *Chughtai* was also conferred on him. Malik 'Alī was his brother an architect engineer. Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214-15.
8. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 220a.
For the details, see Beni Parsad, *History of Jahāngir*, pp. 282-84, and Parmu, R.K., *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 303.
9. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
According to *Raja Darshani* f. 185, Kashtawār was assigned to Raja Sangrām of Jammu, is not supported by any other source. R.K. Parmu, in *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 308, gives his name as Nasrullah 'Arab, is not correct. See *Tuzuk*, p. 303.
10. *Ibid*, p. 303.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 230a.
The name of Raja was Gunwar Sēn and not Gore Sēn or Gosir Singh. Hutichson, *History of Punjab Hill states*, p. 650. Beni Prasad and R.K. Parmu have not mentioned his name at all. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 156-7.
11. *Tuzuk*, p. 303.
12. *Iqbal Nama III*, p. 580.
Tuzuk, p. 347.
Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-Ūmarā*, f. 228.
13. *Tuzuk*, p. 312.
14. Jallal was elder son of Dilawār Khān. He led a contingent along with his father in 1621 to Kashtawār. He was granted a mansab of 1000/600. He was never appointed as Subehdar of Kashmir as put by Abdul Rahim, "JPHS, Vol 7," 1959, *Tuzuk*, p. 312, Kāmgār Hussain, *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, ff. 140-8.
15. *Tuzuk*, pp. 312-13, on the death of Dilāwar Khān, Iradat Khan was appointed as Subehdār in 1622.
16. *Tuzuk*, p. 313,
17. *Tuzuk*, p. 349, *Iqbal Nāmā*, III, p. 580.
Gunwar Sēn was son of Partap Sen. He succeeded his father in 1618-19. (Hashmatullah Khan. p. 156). He was granted a mansab of 1000/400 Bādshah Nama, Lahori, II, p. 311. His daughter was married to Prince Shuja, *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 434-5, Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-Ūmarā*, f. 228. After his death in 1649, he was succeeded by his son Maha Singh and tika was conferred by Shahjahan. A rank of 800/400 was also granted to him Waris, *Bādshah Nama*, I, f. 67. (ii) Kewal Ram, *Tazkirat-al-Ūmarā*, f. 128.
According to Hutichson, *History of Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 651, Gunwar Sēn was succeeded by Jagat Singh which is not correct. See Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. pp. 161-62, also. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, p. 173.
18. "Akḥbārāt, 13th R.Y."
19. *Ibid*.

20. *Ibid.* 24th R.Y.
21. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654.
Hashmatullah Khān, p. 166.
22. Rouzatul-ʿArifin, f. 10b, See chapter VII, for the life of the Saint and his activities in Kashtawar.
Hutichson; *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654.
23. Rouzatul-ʿArifin, f. 10b,
Hashmatullah Khān, p. 167.
24. Hashmatullah Khān, p. 167
25. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, pp. 654-5.
26. The conversion of Jaya Singh was staunchly opposed by the high cost Brahmans. Later on he was killed by Krishin Padyar a high cost Hindu, *Hutichson*, p. 654. Raja Kirat Singh on account of this situation banned Muslims in Kashtawar.
27. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu* etc. pp. 170-71
28. The copy of the agreement has been preserved by Hashmatullah Khān in his book, *Tārikh-i-Jammu-wa-Kashmir*, etc. pp. 170-71.
29. Rouzatul-ʿArifin, f. 15a. According to Hashmatullah Khān *Tārikh-i-Jammu* etc. p. 164, Kirat Singh accepted Islam in 1662, during Aurangzeb's visit to Kashmir, which is not correct. He succeeded his father in 1681.
30. *Akhbārāt*, 43rd R.Y.
31. A.N. III, pp. 539-40. *Bādshah Nama*, Lahori, II, p. 17. *ʿAmal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 16. *Bādshah Nāma*, Qazvini, III, ff. 310a-b. The border of Kashmir and the Punjab was in between Rajouri and Noushahra, see A.N., III, 539-40, and above sources. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahjahani*, 675/73 A.S. Collection, f. 7, Hitichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, p. 688.
Rajouri in ancient periods formed a part of Kamboja confedracry. After its fall it was included in Bactrian Empire. Uri Gankofasky, *Pakistan Ki Qoumiyatain*, pp 72, 79. Peoples Publishing House, Moscow.
32. *Tuzuk*, p. 317
Bādshah Nāma, Lahori, II, p. 17.
See *ʿAdāb-i-Ālamgiri*, ff. 142-149, also
33. *ʿAmal-i-Sāleh*, II, p. 391.
34. *A'in*, II, p. 186 (N.K.) See Jarrets translation also, pp. 347, 390.
Kāmgar Husain, *Maʿāsir-i-Jahāngiri*, ff. 125-26.
A.N., III, p. 577.
35. *A'in*, II, p. 186 (N.K.) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, II, p. 559.
36. *A'in*, II, p. 186. *Khawaricus-Sālikin* f 66a.
37. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shāhjahāni*, 675/73, f. 7.
Wāqāʾ-i-Kashmir, p. 273.
38. A.N. III, pp. 565, 577.

39. A.N., III, p. 577.
40. A.N., III, p. 577
Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri, II, p. 412.
41. A.N., III, p. 577.
Iqbāl Nāma, II, p. 412.
42. A.N., III, p. 578
43. *Tuzuk*, p. 291.
44. *Tuzuk*, p. 367
45. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 19.
46. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 50-51.
Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, III, f. 95b.
47. Ibid.
48. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 216a.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, III, f. 95b.
49. Narain Koul Ājiz, *Mukhtaṣar-Tawārīkh-i-Kashmir*,
f. 192a.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 272-4.
Dastūrul Āmal-i-Shāhjahanī, f. 132b.

CHAPTER : II

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

I EXTENT OF AGRICULTURE :

Land revenue remained almost the only source of income to the State exchequer throughout medieval period, and as such main interest of the rulers revolved round agriculture.

During the Sultanate period Zainul-Ābidīn geared up the administrative machinery to improve the agricultural operations, and to bring more and more land under plough. A number of canals were dug out and the old ones also repaired. But his sons and successors proved incompetent and the war of successions continued among them for decades together. This shattered the administrative machinery and deprived them of their military skills, and the kingdom was exposed to the foreign aggression. In 1533 Mirza Haidar Dughlat swept the kingdom with a nominal contingent of 300 people. In 1540 he again attacked the country and defeated the army. In the subsequent years there was a constant interference in affairs of this country, which ultimately led to its fall and annexation.

The constant warfare turned grain fields into the barren lands. The tenants abandoned their lands. The Mughal annexation in the early years further deteriorated the peasantry. The economic exploitation at the hands of the newly introduced jagirdars and the oppressive attitude of the occupant army almost ruined the peasantry and nullified the achievement of Sultan Zainul-Ābidīn.¹

The collapse of agricultural operations was not conducive to the policies of Akbar, as it had led to a couple of risings. Thus he initiated certain measures to streamline the collapsed system.²

These measures though taken in haste, brought forth the desired results. Peace returned to the kingdom (now a *Subah*) of Kashmir.³ Main focus was on the agriculture and the revenue officials were reprimanded time and again if found negligent while discharging their duties. Once there was safety, the tenants who had abandoned their homes, came out of their mountaneous hideouts to re-settle in their respective villages. The land revenue reforms of Akbar coupled with the policy of pacification of Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb resulted in the constant increase in the population. This subsequently effected the agricultural operations. Pressure on land was felt to the

close of Jehangir's reign, which forced Shah Jehān to amend the policy of madadi māāsh assignments.⁴ Half of the grants were now assigned out of barren land with a directive to bring the same under plough.⁵

However, we fail to workout the actual acreage brought under plough in ecludian terms, because of the paucity of statistical information. This difficulty also is felt so far the factual position of population is concerned, which could have helped us in determining the actual agricultural operation. The very concept of census was not even conceived of; secondly whatever information is recorded in the contemporary source is highly exaggerated.

A 19th century chroniclar without quoting the sources states that the population of the Şubah during the reign of Jehāngīr was 19,43,033,⁶ nevertheless, there is an authentic record about the Villages of the Şubah right from the beginning of the Mughal rule down to its disintegration. This factor studied in the light of revenue figures gives an idea about the extent of agriculture.

According to Narāin Koul Ājiz, there were 5896 villages in the Şubah.⁷ Mohammad Āzam has supported this statement with a slight variation.⁸ But according to an accountancy manual of 17th century, there were only 5352 villages all unmeasured,⁹ which is in accord with the census figures conducted in 1901.¹⁰ But some earlier sources have recorded highly exaggerated number of villages, existing in early medieval period.¹¹ Such an inflated number of villages could not have existed despite the fertility of the land. Abul Faiz Faizi has mentioned that there was not a single piece of land which was not brought under plough. Three-fourth of the entire land of the Şubah was mountainous, and the rest one-fourth was brought under plough and orchards,¹² and as such there was extensive use of culturable land.

On the basis of revenue returns in the A 'in, we can safely infer that the area lying in between Gugnagir to Ferozpūra and Hirapūra to Baramulla was mostly brought under plough.¹³ Ābdul Hamid Lahori and Waris give us a detailed account of the pastoral areas and health resorts, in the valley. On the basis of this information, we can infer that more than three-fourth of the cultivable land in the Sarkar Kashmir was brought under plough and more and more *uftāda* and *banjar* land appears to have been brought under cultivation of cereals, fruit

and vegetable subsequently. But during the latter Mughal period there was again chaos and confusion. The governors deputed their Nāibs to Kashmir and the *jāgīrdārs* formed out their *jāgīrs* to the highest bidder, who in turn exacted their amount in the shortest possible period. The tenants very often abandoned their ancestral land¹⁴ because of the exploitation of *jāgīrdārs* and the revenue officials,¹⁵ and brought *uftāda* land under cultivation, lying in jurisdiction of other *jāgīrdārs*. Therefore, we can accept Faizi's statement but with certain reservations.

1. J. Xavier, "Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol 23," (N.S.) pp 115-16.
2. A.N., III, p. 626
3. *Bahārīstan-i-Shāhl*, ff. 211a-12b; Malik Haidar Chadura; *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 213a-b.
4. "Revenue documents (No 17)" Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.
5. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 524a, 535b.
See also, *Bādshahnāmā*, II, pp. 309-10
6. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Hasan*, Vol I, f. 107a. Some other sources of early period provide some information about the population of the kingdom. See Mohibul Hasan. *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 251-52.
7. Narain Koul Ājiz, *Mukhtasar Tawārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 107a
8. Mohammed Azam, *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 273.
There is a variation of various editions of the same manuscript. The total number of villages of Marūwardwan. Banihal, Punch, Rajouri and Noushahra was 3270. The number of villages in 12 mahals of Tibet and 5 mahāls of Kamlāk and Kahāl was not known to the author.
9. "Fraser, 86," f. 3.
(ii) Rai Chatar Mal, *Chahar Gulshan*, translated by J.N. Sarkar in *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. 131-132.
10. Census Report, 1901. (ii) Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 18.
11. According to *Zafar Nama*, there were 1,00,000 villages in the kingdom of Kashmir, (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 429) puts the number at 70,000.
Dr Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 251-52, has inferred on the basis of above evidences that there would have been in between 70,000 and 60,000 villages during the Mughal period, which cannot be accepted.
12. Faizi, *Akbar, Nāma*, f. 241a.
13. We have parganah-wise statistical information about the land revenue realised in kind at the rate of one half 'A' in, II, 175-77 (N.K.). These returns support our inference. See *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 18-25 also. See appendix 'A'.
14. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff: 524, 528-830, and 534.
15. "Akhbārāt 39 R.Y." (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534.

II MEANS OF IRRIGATION :

The means of irrigation varied in different regions of the Şubah. Enough hydel resources were available in the valley as at present, but scanty in the arid regions of Rajouri, Kashtawār, Pakhli and Tibet *Khurd wa Kalān*. On account of varied topography and geophysical situation various methods of irrigation were adopted in different parts of the Şubah. Nevertheless the canal irrigation was almost common throughout the province.

In spite of natural barriers hampering the expansion of trade and commerce, the mountains were store houses of water. As a matter of fact the valley of Kashmir is a gift of the Himalayas. The Jehlum, and its tributaries in the valley, Kishna ganga in Pakhli, the Shayok and the Indus and their tributaries in Ladakh and Baltistan, Chināb, Tohi, Chandarbāgh and a network of streams and rivulets provided water to the fields of the Subah. But the table lands or *Karēwās* were mainly dependent on rains.¹ The construction of canals had received a great impetus during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin² but the Mughals did not pay much attention towards the canal-building. However, some old canals were repaired and only a few new canals were built to irrigate the pleasure gardens rather than agricultural land. But care was taken not to spare the surrounding lands from the benefit of such irrigation works.

During the reign of Akbar, Yousf Khān Rizvi built a canal connecting a stream known as Nullah Sindh with Baghi-Ilāhi.³ Under Jehangir, some old canals like Lachama Kūl, were repaired under the supervision of Malik Haidar, and Harvan canal was laid out for watering Nūr Afza Bagh at the cost of 30,000 rupees.⁴ Under Shahjehan, a branch of the Shah Nahar was taken to Nishāt Bagh by Āsaf Khān. The *Altamgā* grant *firmān* to Āsaf Khān laid down the condition that watering to the garden should not cause hardship to the tenants by reducing their irrigation facilities.⁵

Another source of irrigation in the valley consisted of the springs. Most of the interior land beneath the *Karēwās* or in the foothills was irrigated by the spring water.⁶ Great distress was caused in cases of scarcity and low supply of water in the springs.⁷ But the spring water was not considered suitable for irrigation on account of its properties.⁸ Vegetable gardens were watered from deep wells, dug out in the

vicinities of these orchards.⁹ Tanks were probably not built for the purpose of irrigation. The use of Persian wheel was not in vogue.¹⁰

The table lands depended mainly on rains,¹¹ and in due course of time these *Karēwās* were brought under fruit cultivation.¹²

1. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 37-40, and 41a
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p.86.
3. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II p. 28.
4. *Tuzuk*, p. 347, (ii) Malik Haider, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, p. 230b.
5. Copy of firman has been preserved by Hasan, in his *tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 115.
6. *A'in*, II, pp. 172-73 (N.K.), (ii) Malik Haider, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 232-34b.
7. *A'in*, II, pp. 172-3 (N.K.), (ii) Malik Haider, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 232-34.
8. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 324.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f.40
12. *Ibid.*

III CROPS AND METHODS OF PRODUCTION :

Hardly any substantial change has taken place in the cultivation since the Mughal rule. The peasants' implements were the plough, with an iron plough share,¹ a wooden mallet for clod breaking, wooden spade with an iron tip, kireel for carrying manure² and a hoe.³

The crops were divided into two broad groups, the *rabi* and *kharif*.

Barley, wheat, rape, mustard, cotton, grams, beans, linseed, lentils were *rabi* crops; rice, pulses, waterchestnuts, maize and saffron were *kharif* crops.⁴

Rice was the principal crop cultivated extensively throughout the valley,⁵ and its production was carried in Kashtawār, Rajouri, Pakhli and some areas of Punch.⁶ There were so many varieties of rice existing during our period.⁷ more than sixty lakh *Kharwars* of rice were produced approximately.⁸

Rice of Rajouri was superior to that of Kashmir.⁹ Wheat production was extensive in Kashtawār, Punch and other hilly regions.¹⁰ Shahābād pargana of Kashmir Sarkār was famous for its superior quality of wheat.¹¹ But the grain of the wheat in the valley was smaller and inferior to the wheat cultivated in the plains.¹² A little production of wheat was carried in Little Tibet but barley and gram were the main agricultural products.¹³ Barley was produced in Kashtawār and Pakhli¹⁴ and introduced into the valley perhaps during our period.¹⁵ Grams were not produced in the valley because of unfavourable soil and climate.¹⁶

Millets, buckwheat, and various kinds of pulses were produced in Little and Greater Tibet.¹⁷

Pulses of various varieties, amaranth, sesame, rape, linseed and flax were also cultivated in the Karēwās of Kashmir.¹⁸ Tobacco cultivation appears to have been introduced in the 18th century.¹⁹ Wild hemp grew on the river banks and ravines.²⁰ Cotton cultivation was not so extensive.²¹ Motah, and beans,²² maize²³ and kangni or shole (*solaria italica*) were mainly cultivated around the banks of the rivers. China (*panicum miliaccum*) was raised in the Lar defile and around the wular lake.²⁴ Water Chestnut was extensively found in the lakes. It constituted the main food of thousands of people living

around the lakes.²⁵ The *hānjis* collected *singhārā* in specially designed boats and the contractors purchased the nuts and transported them to Srinagar for disposal.²⁶

Of all the important cash crops, saffron, famous for its bouquet and medicinal properties, was extensively cultivated in Pāmpūr²⁷ and Indarkot.²⁸ Its cultivation extended for about 12000 bighas in Pāmpūr and over a tract of land approximately spread over one Cos in Indarkot.²⁹

Outside the valley of Kashmir, it was cultivated in Kashtawār also.³⁰ The saffron of Kashtawār was considered superior to that of Pāmpūr.³¹ Under favourable climatic conditions the production exceeded 500 maunds.³²

Under the Mughals a large area was brought under the cultivation of saffron.³³

The method of saffron cultivation was more complicated and quite different from that of crops dependent on rains. The bulbs were protected from the constant rains during winter and slopy ground was selected for such purpose.³⁴ The bulbs (seeds) were planted in the pulverised soil.³⁵ But the use of any kind of manure was strictly avoided.³⁶ The land was left uncultivated for a period of five to six years to regain the fertility. The fields were divided into beds and the seeds were sown in the month of July and August. Within a month the seeds germinated and in the month of October and November bring forth flowers. Each bulb flowered for a period of six years continuously.³⁷ The flowers were collected by the tenants and latter the petals were separated from the stigmata.³⁸ The orange red tip of the stigmata was called *Shāhi Za'frān*.³⁹ Two Seers of pure dried saffron was obtained out of eleven traks of mixed flowers.

Sugar cane cultivation though introduced by Sultan Zain-ul-⁶Abidin probably vanquished in the Mughal period.⁴¹

VEGETABLES :

Vegetable cultivation was extensive and varied all over the Şubah but it was more profuse in the valley. The famous vegetable gardens were located around the city of Srinagar on the banks of Dal lake.⁴² The

famous floating gardens of the Dal were always full of various kinds of vegetables.⁴³ Almost every tenant had a plot reserved for vegetable cultivation.⁴⁵

Qualitatively and quantitatively rich vegetables like beans, knol khol, turnips, radish, spinach, carrots, pumpkins, white beans, cucumbers and onions were mainly produced.⁴⁶ Sāg and boiled rice was the staple food of the Kashmiris. Potatoes were introduced in the 19th century.⁴⁷ Chillies were introduced in 18th century⁴⁸ and large quantities were raised around Srinagar.⁴⁹ Large quantities of vegetables were exported for the Imperial kitchen from Kashmir.⁵⁰

1. Irfan, Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 24-25; (ii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 324.
2. Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 324-25.
3. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.1.
4. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345a.
5. *A' in, II*, (N.K.) p. 172, (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 295.
6. *Ibid.*
7. RPO No 33, a revenue document Srinagar Research and Publication Centre date 1190.
8. *A' in, II*, 175-76. State Share appropriated at the rate of one half was about 30 lakh *Kharwars*.
9. *A' in, I*, (N.K.) p. 34.
10. *Tuzuk*, pp. 294, 296.
11. Vigne, G.T., *Travels etc., I*, p. 324.
12. *A' in, II*, (N.K.), p. 170, (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300.
(iii) Irfan Habib, *Agrarian, System of Mughal India*, pp. 36-37, says wheat was not raised altogether in the Subah of Kashmir is not born out by facts. See *A.N. III*, P. 526-27.
13. *Badshāh Nāmā*, II, p. 287 (ii) Desideri, *Travels etc.*, pp. 78, 325.
14. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
15. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345-a. There is a contradiction in *A' in, II*, p. 170, and *A.N. III*, pp. 548-49, about the barley cultivation, It appears that a little barley was raised in the valley. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian Systems of Mughal India*, p. 78, also *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 341, holds a contrary view point. According to him, it was extensively cultivated in the valley during 19th century, but not as an important crop.
16. *A' in, II*, (N.K.), p. 170, (ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300, (iii) *Gulshan -i-Dastūr*, ff. 343a-345b.

17. Lahori, *Bādashah Nāma*, II, p. 287, (ii) Desideri *Travels etc.*, pp. 78, 325, (iii) Moorcraft, *Travels in Ladakh etc.*, I, pp. 275-77.
18. A.N., III, pp. 528-9, (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345, (iii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.
19. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 7, (ii) Vigne *Travels*, I, p. 324, (iii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.
20. *Tuzuk*, p. 312.
21. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 185.
22. A.N., III, pp. 548-49.
23. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345a, (ii) Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.
24. A.N. III, pp. 548-49
25. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345a, (ii) Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 63.
26. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 307b.
27. *A' in*, II, (N.K.), p. 172, (ii) A.N., III, pp. 648, 727. In Various manuscripts the name of the village Pampur has been written as Patanpur, Panure, etc. It is modern Pāmpūr and ancient Padampūr, *A' in*, II (Jarret), p. 390.
28. Inder Kot a village in Parganga Paraspore, *A' in*, II (N.K.), p. 172; Jarret, II, p. 395, has spelt it as Indarkot. The ancient name of the village was Indarkit, which remained capital of Kashmir also. *A' in*, II, Jarret, p. 395.
29. A.N., III, pp. 648, 727. (ii) *A' in*, II (N.K.); p. 172 on page 63 of the same edition, it is 12 Kros only. In another manuscript it is stated that cultivation spread over an area of 12000 kos, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Shiefta-Collection, I, ff. 36-37. A latter source of 18th century, *Khulāṣatu-Tawārikh*, Sajjan, Rai Bhandari, pp. 80-81, also has comitted the same mistake. See Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 343.
30. *Tuzuk*, pp. 45, 296.
31. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
32. A.N., III, p. 648.
(ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 315
(iii) *Iqbal Name-Jahāngīrī*, III, p. 571.
33. A.N., III, p. 648. The production in the year A.H. 1002/A.D. 1593 increased to 90,000 traks which appears to be a highly exaggerated quantity. According to *Tuzuk*, p. 315, and *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri*, p. 567, the production was about 500 maunds. During the Dogra period about 132 acres of saffron land was brought under cultivation, Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342.
34. *A' in*, I, pp. 62-63 (N.K.)
35. *Ibid.*
36. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342.
37. *A' in*, I, p. 64 (N.K.)
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 344
(ii) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342.

40. A' in, I, (N.K.), pp. 62-63.
(ii) *Iqbal Name Jahāngiri*, III, p. 571.
41. Shrivara, *Raja Tarangini* (Tr. by R.C. Dutt), *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. 3, p. 335.
42. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 233.
(ii) Qazvini, *Badshah Nāma*, III, p. 315a.
(iii) Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 64.
43. Lahori *Badshah, Nāma*, II, p. 29., *Kings of Kashmir* R.C. Dutt; p. 97.
44. A in, II, (N.K.), p. 173.
45. Quzvini, *Badshah Nāma*, III, f. 315a.
(ii) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.
46. A' in, II, (N.K.), p. 173.
(ii) *Hadiqatul-Aqālīm*, f. 415.
(iii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 343a, 345b.
(iv) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330.
47. Vigne, *Travels etc.*, I, p. 173
48. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 46-47
49. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 330
50. A' in, I, p. 34, II, p. 170 (N.K. ed).

HORTICULTURE :

Even before annexation, Kashmir was famous for her delicious fruits of various kinds, but during the Mughal rule large tracts of land were brought under orchards. New varieties were introduced besides the improvement of the existing fruits through grafting.¹ Mohammad Quli Afshār, an expert in horticulture introduced cherry in the Şubah.² In the initial stage the cultivation was restricted to Imperial gardens only, but later Jehangir directed the *jāgirdārs* and revenue officials to popularise the new varieties.³ Experiments were carried on in cultivating mangoes and other kinds of Indian fruits, but with little success.⁴ *Amrood*,⁵ a variety of pear was cultivated in the valley as well as in Pakhli and Kashtawār.⁶

Grapes were cultivated all over Kashmir, and vineyards were found at every nook and corner of the valley.⁷ Since the local grapes were not of superior quality,⁸ Akbar introduced new varieties like *Şāhibī*, *Kishmishī*, etc. The quality of indigenous grapes was also improved side by side.⁹ the vines were allowed to grow on the poplars and mulberry trees.¹⁰ Baghi Dilāwar Khān was a famous site for vineculture and there were more than 18 varieties raised in this orchard.¹¹ Superior varieties were cultivated in Lār¹² and Raipur.¹³

Apricots, peaches, quince, almonds, walnuts and various kinds of apple were cultivated all over the Şubah.¹⁴ Quince seed was exported to India.¹⁵ Almonds and walnuts were grown in abundance, pistachio were also grown in the valley but not extensively.¹⁶ The walnut of Kashmir was superior to the nuts of Kabul valley.¹⁷

Apricots of delicious flavour was the cherished fruit of Little and Greater Tibet.¹⁸ On account of extensive cultivation of the apricots, Baltistan was known as *Ts'era Botun*.¹⁹ Apples and strawberries, melons, watermelons and pears were also grown in this region.²⁰ Pomegranates were grown everywhere in the Şubah.²¹

Punch and Kashtawār were famous for extensive cultivation of pomegranate but of inferior quality.²² The melons, watermelons excelled in flavour and sweetness to those found in Kabul and Samarqand.²³ Mulberry trees were found in abundance, but the fruit was not cherished by the people with delight.²⁴ Wine was distilled from the mulberries.²⁵

1. *Tuzuk*, p.300
2. *Ibid*
3. *Ibid*
4. *Khāfi Khān, Muntakhibu-Lubāb, I, p.203*
5. According to Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.500, and N, Guava was not cultivated during the Mughal period in any part of the Empire, but was-introduced in 19th century. So far the word amrood is concerned, it was a specie of pear. But in the contemporary chronicles we have both the words *Nāshpāti* and *Amrood* : *Tuzuk*, pp. 291, 300.
(ii) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri, III, p. 565*. Since there are various kinds of pears found in Kashmir like *Nakh*, *Gôsh Bugi* and *Hār Nākh* but the *guava* is not raised even now. See Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 351-52.
6. *Tuzuk*, 291.
7. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri, III, p. 565*
8. *Tuzuk*, p. 300, (ii) *Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri, III, p. 565*
9. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 412, 415, (ii) Moorcraft and Trebeck, *Travels, II, pp. 151-I*.
10. *Tuzuk*, p. 300, *Iqbāl Nama, Jahāngiri, III, p. 565*
11. Moorcraft & Trebeck, *Travels, II, pp. 151-1*
12. *A.N., III, p. 733*
13. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 119a*
(ii) Lawrance, (*The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 351.
14. *A' in, II, (N.K.), pp. 43-44, 170*
(ii) *A.N., III, p. 733*
(iii) *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-99, 300-301
(iv) Lahori, *Bādshah Nama, II, pp. 30-31*
(v) Desideri, *Travels etc., p. 72*
15. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
(ii) *Inshā-i-Har Karan* (Folios not page marked)
(iii) Lawrance *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 351-52.
16. Lahori, *Badshah Nama, II, p. 31.*
(ii) Desideri, *Travels etc. p. 72*
17. Moorcraft & Trebeck, *Travels etc., II, pp. 145-6.*
18. Lahori, *Bādshahnama, II, pp. 13-20*
19. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 87.*
20. Lahori *Bādshah Nama, II, p. 288.*
(ii) Desideri, *Travels etc., pp. 75-78*
(iii) Waddel, *Lahasa and its Mysteries, p. 478*
21. *Tuzuk*, pp. 296, 300,
(ii) *Iqbāl Nāma Janāngiri, III, 567.*
22. *Tuzuk*, p. 396.
(ii) *Iqbal Nāma Jahāngiri, III, p. 567*
(iii) Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma, II, pp. 30-31*

23. *Ibid.*
24. A' in II, (N.K.), p. 170
(ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300
25. George Forester, *Journey from Bengal to England etc.*, II, pp. 21-2.
(ii) Watt, C.W., *Commercial products of India*, p. 785.

IV TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE :

The natural barriers might have presented hurdles and drawbacks to the extension of trade and commerce with the outer world, especially in the mobilization of the grain, but there was no such restraint within the valley. As a matter of fact the river communication was an advantage for such an expansion within. On account of smooth administration, there was a substantial growth of the urban centres,¹ which remained dependent on the rural areas for the raw materials and food grains. As such the possibilities of markets increased, therefore, we should not be surprised to learn that more than 7500 boats were plying between the production centres (the rural areas) and the main consuming centres, (urban centres) loaded with grains and fodder.²

Before the Mughal conquest the land revenue was entirely realized in kind but the Mughals reversed the system, but it caused great oppression to the tenants, so in 1597 A.D. *jāgīrdārs* were directed to realize the revenue in kind and a portion of it was realized in cash.³ The grain which was collected in the villages by the state officials, and the *jāgīrdārs*, was either sent to Srinagar⁴ and sold there to the grain merchants or they purchased it from the threshing ground.⁵ The *Jāgīrdārs* as well as the state, during the reign of Aurangzeb farmed out the land to the contractors, who left the tenants, with only a little of their hard-earned produce. This exploitation naturally left the peasants to the mercy of *jāgīrdārs*. They were deprived of the bulk of their produce which might have found its way to the markets and some quantity returned to the tenants in shape of *taqāwī* and seeds. In the absence of statistical information, it is difficult to make a correct assessment of the magnitude of grain trade; but we can safely infer that neither the *jāgīrdār*, nor the state was interested in preservation of the foodgrains as there were no reserved stocks of foodgrains as the state preferred to collect revenue in cash. So in times of natural calamity in the *Ṣubah*, the grain merchants made huge profits and of the inflated prices at which the food-grains were sold from the hoarded stocks of the grain-dealers. In this way the chief beneficiaries, whenever natural calamities, draughts and famine occurred, were the grain-dealers. Above all the imperial visits greatly benefited the dealers as Imperial camps were attended to by large retinues which led to further scarcity of food and fodder.⁷

During the imperial visits large quantity of food and fodder was appropriated from the merchants for use in the imperial camp.⁸ A small quantity was exported to Ladakh and Baltistān,⁹ Rajouri *bāsmati* rice was sent for imperial kitchen.¹⁰ Besides the cereals, saffron, chestnut, fruits and vegetables were main articles of agricultural trade.¹¹ Chestnut was appropriated by farm contractors and then sold to the *biryān Faroshān*.¹²

1. Ifran, Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India," paper presented in the International Economic History Congress, p.9.
2. *Iqbal Nama Jahāngīri*, III, p. 564
3. A.N., III, p. 549, (ii) *Inshai Har Karan* (Folios not page marked), (iii) *Ṣāhib Rāi*, *DurrulʿUlūm*, f. 164b.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.* (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 530b, (iii) *Insha'i Faiz Bakhsh*, f. 19-20
6. "Akhbārāt, 39 & 43rd R.Y." (ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 327b.
7. "JRASB, Vol 23, (N) pp. 115-16.
(ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 290
8. *Tuzuk*, p. 286
(ii) Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 230
9. Desideri, *Travels etc.*, p. 72
(ii) Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jummu etc.*, p. 311
(iii) Dowson Ross, "R.A. S. London, 1850," p. 372
10. *A' in*, I, pp. 62-3 (N.K.)
11. *A' in*, pp. 62-63
(ii) Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34
12. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 531-32b.

V DRAUGHTS, FAMINE AND MEASURES OF RELIEF :

In spite of strict adherence to the natural climatic schedule, the former was deprived of his toil from time to time, by the climatic truanancies. The Kashmiri peasant started his agricultural operation right from the *Nauroze*.¹ His minutest negligence could have spoiled his entire crop easily, because the snowfall on the mountain tops in the early autumn days withered the unripe crops. Moreover, man made barriers also were very often responsible for the failure of crops. Uninterrupted warfare and the imperial visits were no less harmful to the toiling peasant.

In 1597 Kashmir experienced the first famine under the new rule. The oppressive role of occupation forces, and the continuation of Mughal-Chak skirmishes had compelled the tenants to abandon their ancestral land.² The imperial camp comprised more than 25000 souls, further aggravated the food situation.³ The price automatically shot up and the poor people failed to meet out their meagre demands. This caused a terrible panic in the Subah.⁴ The Children were exposed to sale.⁵ Thousands of people died and many more fled. Keeping in view this experiment, Jahangir, during his visit in 1622, directed his attendants to arrange their provisions before leaving for Kashmir.⁶ Akbar promptly came to the rescue of the people. Free kitchens were opened every where in the cities and principal towns where thousands of people were served two time meals.⁷ In order to alleviate his subjects, Akbar ordered the construction of Nāgar Nagar fort. The labourers were paid in cash and in this way hundreds of them earned their livelihood.⁸ Besides this, other measures were also undertaken. Cash grants were awarded to many people during his stay and prices were fixed.⁹ The grain dealers were asked to follow them strictly.¹⁰

During the reign of Jahangir there was no crop failure but plague and fire devastated a considerable portion of the Subah during 1622-24.¹¹ Thousands of people died because of this terrible plague.¹² The magnitude of the plight was great, perishing entire families,¹³ and this plague was followed by a devastating fire. More than 12000 houses burnt in the city of Srinagar. After two years the plague subsided.

In 1642, during the reign of Shah Jehān a terrible flood devastated the entire valley.¹⁴ 4000 houses were grounded around the Dal Lake alone.¹⁵ Next year the failure of rains further aggravated the situation. This caused a terrible shortage of food and fodder.¹⁶ The

people left Kashmir in search of subsistence. More than 30,000 people went to Lahore, where they appealed to Emperor for relief.¹⁷ The farmers were not able to cultivate the land as neither seed nor the oxen were available. The deserted lands depicted a horrible picture.¹⁸ Numberless free kitchens were opened in the city and on road-sides.¹⁹ Grain was sent from Lahore, Gujarat and Ahmedabad to Kashmir.²⁰ *Taqāwī* loans besides the seeds and oxen were distributed among the peasants.²¹ Tarbiyat Khān, the Šubahdār, failed to organise the relief measures efficiently, and he was replaced by Zafar Khān.²²

In 1664-65, untimely snow-fall destroyed the crops. Seventy-nine thousands rupees were sent by Aurangzeb as relief.²³

Famine on minor scale and other natural calamities in the shape of earthquakes, and fires, were common.²⁴

1. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 342
2. St. Xaveir, "JRASB, Vol." 23, pp. 115-16.
(ii) *A.N.*, III, p. 727
3. *Ibid.*, *Tuzuk*, p. 286
4. St. Xavier, "JRASB, Vol 23," p. 116
(ii) *A.N.*, III, p. 727
(iii) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 453.
5. St. Xavier, "JRASB, Vol 23," p. 116
(ii) Macalagan, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pp. 77-8.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 286.
7. *A.N.*, III, p. 727
8. *A.N.*, III, p. 727. (ii) *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 454
9. *Ibid.*, 453
10. *Ibid*
11. *Ibid Nama Jahangiri*, III, p. 541.
(ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 220

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.* (ii) *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 124.
14. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, pp. 204-5, 309-10
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.
(ii) Mohamad Sādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shahjāhāni-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 53a
17. *Ibid.*
(ii) *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140.
18. *Amali Sālih*, II, pp. 360-61.
19. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, pp. 309-10.
20. *Ibid.*,
(ii) *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140
21. Mohamad Aslam Mun'ami, *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 271
22. *Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni*, etc., f. 98; *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 273; *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140
23. Mohammad Kazim, *Ālamgir*, p. 830.
24. *Tuzuk*, p. 219
(ii) *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175
(iii) Hasan, *Tārīkh-Kashmir*, I, p. 174a.

VI REVENUE ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION :

The revenue assessment evolved by the Shah Mir Sultāns hold good for a pretty long time. But the civil wars and external intervention threw it out of gear. There was further deterioration in it after annexation to 1589. On account of exorbitant exactions there was a revolt in 1592 led by one Mirza Yādgār.¹

This rising finally diverted the attention of Akbar towards the deteriorating administration, though in 1589 while on his first visit to Kashmir, he had appointed Sheikh Faizi,² Mir Sharif Āmulī³ and Khawjgi Mohammed Husain⁴ to carry on the assessment work in the Maraz division and Khwāja Shamas-ud-Din Khāfi⁵ and Kunwar Mān Singh were sent to Kamrāz.⁶

The assessment was carried after the harvest, and, secondly, the local officials, did not extend their full support, so the reports were prepared on the basis of the experience of the authorities.⁷ In spite of so many lacunae⁸, the reports were quite exhaustive. The reports revealed that the land was divided into tracts, and each tract was called *patta*, each *patta* was equal to one bigha and one biswa in area, according to *Gazi Ilāhi*.

The revenue demand under the Sultans was one-third of the produce, but practically more than two-third was appropriated.¹⁰ The actual *rais* were found as under :

One man, 30½ sers for mu'ng, mothe, and mash; two mans 20½ sers for kangni and arzan; five mans of paddy; wheat one man, 26 sers, barley one man and 26¾ sers, and lentils and rape one man and 30½ sers from each *patta*.¹¹

The total revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce, and revenue demand was decreased by two lakh *kharwārs* of paddy.¹² Since the officials of Yousf Khān Rizvī had not been cooperative, and as such the revenue was fixed tentatively. Meanwhile, one Tota Ram, *Pēshkār* of Yousf Khān Rizvī, complained against him for embezzlement in the revenue.¹³

Akbar sent Qāzi Āli and Qāzi Nūrullah to investigate the case.¹⁴ A detailed assessment was carried out, which caused great distress among the soldiers and the servants of Yousf Khān Rizvī, who were deprived of the illegal income exacted from the cultivators.¹⁵ Qāzi Āli

was assisted by Hasan Beg Sheikh^Umarī.¹⁶ He was deputed in 1592 on the request of Qāzī Ali because the *gumashtās* of Yousf Khān did not cooperate with him.¹⁷

Qāzī Ali divided the sarkar into 42 mahals; each village was assessed and the total demand was fixed at 3063050 lakh *kharwārs* and 11 trakhs, out of it 901663 *kharwars* and 8 trakhs were to be paid in cash at the rate of 13-8/25 dams per *kharwar*.¹⁸

The grain was commuted into cash at the rate of 29 dams per *kharwar*.¹⁹ The total *jama'* was fixed at 74670411 dāms.²⁰ However, Yousf, Khān Rizvī was reluctant to accept the enhanced *jama'*. The entire *Ṣubah* was attached to Khālīṣa under the charge of Shamas-ud-Din.²¹ But, on the recommendation of prince Salim, it was resumed to Yousf, Khān on the previous *jama'*,²² 622,02,203¼ dāms. Yousf Khan Rizvi was transferred in 1594, and Kashmir was parcelled out amongst Ahmad Beg Khān, Mohammed Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Hasan Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali Arab, and Mohammadi Beg.²³ The cultivators were ruined by the harsh *jāgirdārs*, therefore, Āsaf Khān²⁴ was sent to re-assess the *Ṣubah* after 1594.²⁵ New *jama'* was increased by 16392 *kharwārs* 5 trakhs, but a subsidy of five dams in each *kharwar* was recommended. So, in fact, there was no increase in the *jama'*, when commuted into cash, but a decrease of 860034½ dāms.²⁶ The *jama'* was fixed at 3079443 *kharwārs* out of it 1011330½ *kharwārs* were to be paid in cash.²⁷

Qāzī Ali had divided the sarkar Kashmir in 42 parganas but Āsaf Khān reduced the number to only 38.²⁸

As mentioned earlier, the *jāgirdārs* appropriated the surplus produce from the tenants, in the shape of illegal cesses etc. As such cultivators collapsed under the heavy burden of exorbitant taxes.²⁹ In 1597, Akbar found the *Ṣubah* in a ruined condition.³⁰ He immediately introduced some new reforms in order to ascertain the actual *jama'*. The *Ṣubah* was divided into 14 divisions, and two *bitikchies* (one Hindi and the other Persian knowing) were appointed to each division.³¹

All the previous *rais'* were spurious and a fixed *jama'* was realized annually without obtaining information afresh regarding *kāshṭa* and *uftāda* lands.³² But the *bitikchies* were instructed to avoid spurious or unauthenticated information. The new demand was fixed according to the fertility of the land and the span of cultivation.

For the land, left uncultivated for a period of ten years or more, the demand in the first year was fixed at one-sixth, one-fourth for second year, one-third for third year and afterwards at the usual rate till under cultivation.³³ In case the land was ploughed after a period of less than ten years and not more than four, the demand was one-fifth for the first year, one-third for the second year and thereafter at one-half, while it was one-third in the first year and one-half in the subsequent years if brought under plough after a period of four years.³⁴

In case of cash crops like saffron, the state demand continued the same and the same method of assessment, i.e. *Nasqi-galla-Bakhash* was followed.³⁵ Under the Sultans the land revenue was realized in kind.³⁶ but under the Mughals the *mal* was realized in kind and other taxes in cash.³⁷

The method of *Nasqi Gala Bakhash* introduced by Akbar continued throughout our period but in a simple form.³⁸ Obviously the tenants were benefited by this system because they were not directly affected by the fluctuating prices.³⁹ The burden of droughts, trauancies of climate and floods was borne by both the parties viz., the cultivator and the assignee.^{39 a} But at the same time there were disadvantages as well. It was a cumbersome and expensive method. It involved a great number of officials at the harvests besides the usual village officials.⁴⁰ We can easily visualise the difficulties experienced by the peasants under such a method. The presence of a *shiqdar* at the time of harvesting and thrashing was essential. While on the one hand the short spanned harvesting season was a domicile sword hanging over the head of the peasant and on the other he was to wait upon the village official which very might have been responsible for the spoliation of the produce.

In the other regions of *Ṣubah* like Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Kashtawār, the *zamindārs* continued to levy the taxes according to previous systems,⁴¹ while *Nasqi Galla Bakhash* as the method of assessment remained in force throughout our period in the rest of the *Subah*.⁴²

It has been discussed above that the magnitude of land revenue demand was fixed at half of the produce. But above and over the demand, extra burden in the form of *wujūhāt*, *sairjahāt*, *habūbāt*, and *farūāt* was also borne by the tenants.⁴³

It is not possible to determine the percentage of the said taxes in an euclidean way. But it requires explanation if the taxes were included in the *jama'*. But in case of Ushkar it was included in the *Jama'* till 1697 A.D. Nevertheless it was later on dropped on account of his recommendation.⁴⁴ during the *Ṣubahdāri* of Ibrāhīm Khān the exempted amount was again included in the *Jamā'* but was permanently exempted when the people approached Aurangzeb. Whatever was realised from the cultivated land was called *māl*,⁴⁵ the expenses incurred on its assessment and collection were called *Jehāt*,⁴⁶ while the tax imposed upon various occupations and trade was known as *sairjahāt*.⁴⁷ There were in addition exaction and perquisites appropriated by the assignees excluding *jama'*, known as *habūbāt* and *farūāt*.⁴⁸

Besides, we have a long list of various impositions like *dāmdārī*, *sirdarakḥti*, *dastār — shumāri*, *teli-charāgh*, *hāsili-haṭab*,⁴⁹ *chouthāi*,⁵⁰ and *Kāhdayār*.⁵⁰ A levy on the apricot stones was also imposed in the areas where the trees were in abundance.^{50b}

Hāsli haṭab was realized at the of two dams per *kharwār* of *Jama'*, *l'taqād Khān*⁵¹ increased it to four *dāms*.⁵²

A tax on the villages yielding a revenue of four hundred *kharwārs* and above was also levied at the rate of 62 *dāms*.⁵³ *Sardarakḥti* and *kāhcharāi* taxes were included in the *sairjahāt* taxes. After the annexation, the aforesaid *abwābs* were remitted by Akbar.⁵⁴ Though Jahāngir explicitly had forbidden the realization of the *sardarakḥti* in his 13th year,⁵⁵ but practically it was never discontinued.⁵⁶ As a matter of fact, during 1622-32, the orchard-owners were compelled to cut down their orchards because of the torturous imposition.⁵⁷ After his death Jahāngir again issued directives to the officials not to realize the abolished taxes.⁵⁸ Similarly Shahjahān⁵⁹ and Aurangzeb⁶⁰ exempted the tenants from these taxes. There can be only two assumptions as to why the strictures were issued from time to time. Firstly, either it was a Mughal tradition to provide guidelines to the officials and assignees for the future or secondly, the taxes continued to be realized. Alternately two other considerations might have necessitated the re-statement of their orders viz., firstly, the successive emperors to reassert their authority after their succession issued, such orders, and secondly, the orders issued earlier were never or partially implemented by the officials. This second explanation appears to be

more plausible. As a matter of fact, the state was a protecting arm to the exploiters, and party to this exploitation⁶¹ and this appears to be partly if not wholly, correct, because strictures were issued from time to time in the interest of the tenants and a number of evidences may be cited⁶² to support the proposition further. The top-level officials were removed on the complaints of the subjects.⁶³ Even the taxes actually realised were repaid to the ryots concerned.⁶⁴

1. Srivara, *Kings of Kashmir*, pp. 418-19
(ii) Badauni, *Muntakhabul-Tawārikh*, II; pp. 394-95.
2. Sheikh Faizi son of Sheikh Mubarak Nagori was born in 1546-47. He was poet and a physician. He held the rank of 400. He died in 1595. (i) *A.N.*, II, p. 674. (ii) *A' in*, II, (Blochmann Trans), pp. 549-50.
3. Mir Sharif Āmuli came to India in 1585, and joined the Mughal services. After the death of Mirza Hakim, he was appointed as *Amin* and *Sadr* of Kabul. He was both a scholar and a poet, and had inclination towards Sufi sect of *Wahdatul-Wajūd*. He held the rank of 900. He died in 1598 A.D., *A.N.*, III, 452, 477, 513, 548, 557 and 834. (ii) *A' in*, II (tr. Blochmann), pp. 502-4. (iii) *Ma'asirul-Ūmarā*, II, p. 289.
4. Khwajgi Mohammed Husain was younger brother of Mohammad Qāsim Mīr Bahār. He was given the title of Mir Bahr. He came to India in 1560 along with Munim Khān. He was given various assignments from time to time. He held the rank of 900.
5. *A' in*, I, (N.K.), p. 162. (ii) *A.N.*, III, p. 548. He died in 1612; *Tuzuk*, p. 114.
6. Raja Man Singh son of Raja Bhagwān Das joined the Mughal service in 1576, and was given the title of *farzand*. He rose to the prominence after the battle of Goganda (Golconda). He held many posts from time to time, and played a vital role during succession crises at the death of Akbar. *Tuzuk*, p. 130. He died in 1614, *Tuzuk*, p. 130. See *A.N.*, I, pp. 6; II, pp. 14, 185, 186, II, 280, 288, 342, 372, III, 448, 467, 511-17, 548, 576-82, and 834.
7. *Ibid.*, 549
8. *A.N.*, III, p. 549
9. *Ibid.* This was not practically in vogue as supported by the documents and local administrative manuals. The area was determined by the quantity of seed required in the area i.e. an area in which one *Khawār* of seed was sown was known as one *Khawār* of land. Revenue document Nos. 17, 21, 23.
(ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 373a.
(iii) *A.N.*, III, (Beveridge translation), pp. 830-33 and N. According to
(iv) Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 243, each *Khawār* of land was equal to four British acres. Even at present the same tradition is followed. Each *trakh* is equal to two *kanals*.

10. A.N., III, p. 549.
 (ii) A' in, II, p. 570
 (iii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 223-24.
11. A.N., III, pp. 548-49. There is no substantial difference between the rais' fixed in the rest of the northern India and Kashmir. A' in, II, (N.K.), p. 207-8. These were new rais and not the old as presumed by Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 224.
12. A' in, II, p. 570 (Bloch); (ii) A.N., III, p. 540.
13. A' in, II, (N.K.), p. 196. Tota Ram was himself a corrupt official, *Tārīkh-i-kashmir*, Anon. (Hindi) RPD Srinagar, f. 8.
14. A.N., III, p. 595; (ii) Suka, *Raja Tarangi-Ni tr.* (J.C. Dutt), p. 418. According to Mohammed Azam, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 118; (ii) Mohammed Aslam Munāmi, *Gouhari Alam*, p. 253. (iii) Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-u-ṭawārikh*, op. cit., the assessment work was carried out by Raja Todar Mal. Some modern historians have also committed the same mistake, J.P. Newal, "JASB, Vol 23" (III), p. 432, Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 194. and P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 390. Akbar paid his first visit to the valley in 1589. At the time of his departure, Todar Mal was detained at Lahore, A.N., III, p. 537. He died there on 8th November, 1589, A.N., III, p. 569. According to Augusts Fedric, *Akbar*, II, pp. 195-96, Todar Mal died on 9th October, 1587, which is incorrect. Qāzi Āli and Husain Beg were sent in 1591, so the possibility of his presence in Kashmir does not arise at all.
15. A.N., III, p. 595; Shrivara, *Raja Tarangini*, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 418.
16. Nothing is known about the early life of Hasan Beg Sheikh Ūmari. He was given Pakhli in jāgīr in 1589, A.N., III, 591. In 1601, his *manṣab* was increased to 2500. During the rebellion on Khusrou, he joined the prince along with his five hundred stout Badakhshi' soldiers at Mathura. After the repulsion of the revolt, Hasan Beg was put into a cow-hide and tied to a donkey. He died in the same skin on June 11, 1606, *Tuzuk*, p. 32.
17. A.N., III, pp. 617-19. During this revenue operation, Qāzi Āli was killed in an encounter with the servants of Yousf Khān Rizvi. Husain Beg Sheikh Ūmari escaped to India via Rajouri. Mirza Yādgar was declared the king, later the revolt was put down and Yādgar was killed. For details, see Chapter I, Section II.
18. Add 7652, f. 297b. In Blochmann edition, 570, it is 901063.8. A' in II, 570 (Blockmann), Add 7652, f. 297b. Abul Fazl gives the following scale of the weights current in Kashmir. 2 dāms weight was equal to 1 pāl, $7\frac{1}{2}$ pāl = 1 ser; 4 sers = 1 *manwal* or man; 4 mans = 1 trakh and 16 trakh = 1 *kharwār*. A' in, II, 570, *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 561b-562a. In the colloquial language the *kharwār* was called *khāri*, Suka, (T.C. Dutt), p. 424. Later it appears to have been persianised. I think to translate the *kharwar* as ass load, Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 375, is not correct. According to the same authority each Kharwar was equal to 177.02 lbs., while Lawrance had estimated one kharwar equal to 166-32/35 lbs, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 242.
19. A' in, II, (Blochmann), p. 570-71, Add 7652, f. 297b.
20. *ibid.*

21. Khāwja Shamas-ud-Din son of Khawja Ala-u'd-Din was a resident of Khawaf a district of Khurasan. He joined the Mughal Court in 26th R.Y., and was appointed as superintendent of fort Atak. Later on, he was appointed as Diwan of Kabul. He died in 1600 at Lahore. A'in, (tr. Blochmann), pp. 494-95.
22. A.N., III, p. 627; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 140.
23. A.N. III, p. 654.
24. Asaf Khān Mirza Qawāmud-Din, Jāfar Bēg was son of Bedi-ul-Zamān. Bedi-u'l-zamān was wazir of Kāshān during the reign of Shah Tahmasp Shāh. Asaf Khān joined the Mughal Court in 1577. He left the Mughal Court and attended the Court of Muzaffar Khān of Bengal, because Akbar appointed him only commander of twenty. But after sometime he joined the Mughal Court and was given a rank of 2000, and the title of Asaf Khān, A' in, Blochmann, p. 451-2. In 42nd R.Y., he was appointed Diwani-kul. In 1605, his manṣab was increased to 3000. He was promoted to the rank of 5000 by Jahangir. He died in 1612, *Tuzuk*, pp. 1080-109. According to *Ma'asirul Umarā* (Farsia) Akhbar, 108, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh), Asaf Khān died in 1094 A.H./1682-83, which is incorrect, perhaps a clerical mistake.
25. According to Beveridge, A.N., III, pp. 1085-6 n, Asaf Khān revised the Jama' in 1594 while distributing the subah among the aforesaid jāgirdārs. It appears he has not noticed the reference in A.N., III, p. 661, where it is mentioned that Asaf Khān did not enhance the revenue.
26. A' in, II, 570-71 (Blochmann), Add. 7652, f. 297b.
27. *Ibid.*
28. A' in, II, (Blochmann), p. 573, Add. 7652, f. 297b.
29. A.N., III, p. 732
30. A.N., III, p. 726
31. *Ibid.* Beveridge in his translation of A.N., III, pp. 1085-6, has wrongly interpreted the following sentence.

ہمگی ملک راچہارودہ بخش کردہ بہر یک دو بیگی ایرانی و ہندی فرستادند

He presumed 'بہر یک دو' is a clerical mistake and it should be بہر یک دہ.

(in each village) which is not a fact. See *Iqbal Nama Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 453.

32. A.N., III, p. 727

33. A.N., III, p. 727. Beveridge has wrongly translated this sentence

قرار گرفت در کشت و کار ناکشتمند از دہ سال

"when the settlement was for more than ten years....." A.N., III, p. 1086.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Inscription of Jami' Masjid, Srinagar,

(ii) *Tuzuk*, p. 315

(iii) *Rouzatul Arifin*, f. 15.

(iv) Revenue document Nos 7 dated 1082, and 23 dated 1074 R.P.D. Srinagar Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian system of Mughal India*, p. 194. has conjectured the zabli system was followed in case of cash of cash crops, does not apply, so far as saffron cultivation in Kashmir was concerned.

36. A.N., III, pp. 726-27.
 (ii) A' in II, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71
 (iii) *Tuzuk*, p. 300
37. A' in II, (Blochmann), pp. 570-71
 According to Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 237, the entire land revenue was realised in kind and cash nexus introduced earlier, was withdrawn. It is partially correct, because the *sairjahāt* taxes were realised in cash. Supra 43. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
38. A' in, II, (Blockmann), p.570
 (ii) *Durrul U'lūm*, f. 164b.
39. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 239.
39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 342a.
40. *Durrul U' lūm*, p. 164b. See the Section III, Part I of this Chapter also.
41. The main source of revenue in Little and Greater Tibet was gold dust collected from the sand of the Indus and Shayok. Lahori *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 288. Approximately two thousand tolas of gold was collected from the sand, and sold at the rate of rupees seven a tola, *Amali Sālih*, II, p. 264. Sheep and cattle were also levied. The house-hold requirements of the chieftain were provided by the people. Grain was supplied from twenty four villages from Nūbra, besides Lāmyūrū, Skarpoche, Tungmogong, Sespula, and Buzgo, for the chief. Meat was supplied by residents of Rupsho and Ruthog, butter from Zānskār and four thousand maunds of timber was provided by the villages of Chalang, Khurdung and Dhandrddhole valleys. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jummu*, etc., p. 427. Similarly, no tax was imposed on the land in Kashtawar. Each house owner was to pay a sum of six sanhansi equal to four rupees annually, besides, a tax of rupees four was levied on each ser of saffron, but the tax was paid by the customer, *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-97.
42. *Durrul U'lūm*, f. 164b.
 (ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 227
 (iii) Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 122.
43. A' in, I, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.)
 (ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 243 & n.
 (iii) N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 42-43. N.A. Siddiqi, "IESH, Vol II, Part I, January, 1965, p. 375, has presumed the taxes in the crop sharing regions were not separately calculated. But we have a significant evidence in Inshāi Har Karn where a Qabaz of Abdul Latīf a servant of Šamad Khān Jāgīrdār is preserved. He had received rupees sixty on account of habubat from the *Muqadam* of Shawangas village.
44. Village Ushkar was in Parganah Kruhen. It has a large tract of fertile table land. The tenants used to collect timber and fodder for their personal use. They were charged an extra amount of 100781 dams. *Gulsham-i-Dastūr*, f. 343s.
45. A' in, I, (N.K.), p. 205
 (ii) *Dastūrul Amali-Ālamgir*, Add, 6599, p. 30621; f. 28.
46. *Ibid*.
47. A' in, I, pp. 205, 209-10 (N.K.)
 (ii) *Dastūrulāmli Ālamgīrī*. Add. 6599, p. 30621, f. 28. A list of all such occupations and trades is available in this manual.

- (iii) According to *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 552a, *māl* or *māliyyā* was the tax on produce of the agricultural land, but the orchards and fodder tax was known as *jehāl*.
 (iv) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 243.
 (v) N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, pp.42-43.
48. A' in, I, p. 205
 (ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 243.
49. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 234a-b.
50. *Hasili Hatab* was a tax imposed on each village in connexion with fuel brought from the forests. A' in, II, p. 178., and *chouthai* was a tax on the litigants. They had to pay one-fourth of the value of the sued property. This tax was an innovation of Abū Naṣar, Khān (*Gouhari Alam, Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*) (ii) Inscription on the gate of Jamia Masjid, Srinagar. (iii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 528a.
51. *Kāhdayār* was a tax on mustard, lentils, cotton, kangni (*Selaria italica*) and turnip fodder because it was used by the farmers. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 357b.
- 50b. *Khawāriq-Salikīn*, f. 141b.
51. *Qazvini*, II, f. 267b-268a. (ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription.
 (iii) Birbal Kachroo, *Majmūt-Tawārikh*, op.cit. has also preserved a copy of the same inscription.
52. Ibid. But it was appointed in the 8th R.Y. Inscription on the gate of Jama Masjid.
53. Ibid. Before his appointed two sheep were to be paid, but Shahjahān abolished the cess completely.
54. A' in I, (N.K.), pp. 209-10; Dutt, J.C., *Kings of Kashmir*, p. 418.
55. *Tuzuk*, p. 252.
56. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 297-98b.
 (ii) *Durrul Ulum*, f. 264b.
57. Jamia Masjid inscription.
58. Glawdin, *History of Jahangir*, p. 100.
59. Jamia Masjid Inscription,
 (ii) *Quzivini*, II, ff. 267-68.
60. Firmān to Risak Das and Hashim Khan.
61. S. Nurul Hasan, "Zamindārs Under the Mughals Land Controls and Social Structure in Indian History," pp. 17-31.
 (ii) Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 191, 256.
62. A' in, 196 198, (ii) 175 etc.
 (ii) Jamia Masjid Inscription
 (iii) Aurangzeb's firman to Rasik Das and Hāshim Khān.
 (iv) "Akhbārāt, 39, 42, 43rd year."
 (v) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 524, 532
 (vi) J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 89.
 (vii) *Khawariq-Salikin*, f. 119b.
63. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
 Malik Haidar, Chadura, *Tārikhi-Kashmir*, f. 214.
64. A Document dated H 1118 preserved in Research Library, Iqbal Library Kashmir University No. 31.

PARGANAHS AND THE NUMBER OF VILLAGES IN 1707*

TABLE NO. 1

S. No.	Name of Parganahs	No. of Villages	Footnotes
1.	Balda Srinagar excluding Mahāl Mīr-Bahārī	15	
2.	Islāmābād	106	
3.	Ular	121	
4.	Inch ¹	104	1. Inch of A'in, II, (N.K.), p. 176 Yecha of Moorcraft Travels, Vol 2, p. 113.
5.	Advin	208	
6.	Indar Kot ²	8	2. Indarkol of Jarrets, Translation of A'in, II, p. 356
7.	Bāngil	203	
8.	Beeru	182	
9.	Brang	70	
10.	Bātu	63	
11.	Phāk	64	
12.	Telegām	46	
13.	Devasar	162	
14.	Dachin Khawoora	102	
15.	Wohi	120	
16.	Dachin Pārā	80	
17.	Khawur Pārā	56	
18.	Zainapōra	30	
19.	Zainagir	98	
20.	Sair-ul-Mawāziā	109	
21.	Sopra Soman	21	
22.	Shakroha	97	
23.	Showūra	59	
24.	Shahabād	21	
25.	Kutahār	41	
26.	Krohen	68	
27.	Khuihāmā	55	2a. Kamrāz Parganah was stretched over a vast territory. It was divided into 6 Taphas :
28.	Khoi	14	1. Tapah Hamal,
29.	Kamrāz ²	469	2. Machipūra, 3. Ramhāl,
30.	Lār	87	4. Niheri, 5. Utar, 6. Lolāb.
31.	Manchihāmā	89	
32.	Mārtand	11	

33. Mohammadabad	30	
34. Nāgām ³	200	3. Comprised of three Tapas :
35. Wunts ⁴		1. Chirāt, 2. Nāgām,
36. Greater Tībet		3. Arigām.
37. Little Tibet	30	4. Dainsum of Moorcroft, II,
38. Kashtawār*		p. 113.
39. Gilgit		
40. Barshāl		
41. Sarsāl	No of	
42. Pakhli	villages	
43. Dardu	not	
44. Doomyāl	mentioned.	
45. Damtūr		
46. Kāshāk		
47. Kamlāk		
48. Kahāl		
49. Punch		
50. Rajouri		
51. Maruwardwan		
52. Nousahra		
53. Bānihāl		

*In a latter work *Tawārikhi Kashtawār*, MSS 577 of Mohammad Akhoun, we are able to have a list of villages of Kashtawār which is given hereunder. See also *Tārikh-i-Kashtawār*, Shivji Dhar, Ms 1729, Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir.

S. No.	Name of Parganah	No. of Vill.
1.	Nag Seeni	14
2.	Pādar	30
3.	Jaskar (Consisting 6 pattas)	50
4.	Mardwa Wardwon	21
5.	Dachna	6
6.	Audail	9
7.	Kontwarda	23
8.	Sarword, Sarthāl (2 Tapas)	26
	Total	179

(*) Mainly based on *Mukhtasar Tawārikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Koul 'Ājiz, and supplanted with the information contained in *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, compiled in 1748, and *Tārikh-i-Hasan* MS I Vol. I.

PARGANAH-WISE LAND REVENUE BASED ON THE REPORT OF QĀZI ALI AND ĀSAF KHĀN

TABLE II

REVENUE IN 1589 (KHARWARS)

S. Name of No Parganah	Paid in kind	Paid in Cash	Footnotes
1. Inch ¹	144102-	2634-4-0	1. I'tchch in <i>Jarret</i> , and Ulang in Sheifta Collection MS
2. Brang	78834-4	8779-	
3. Wahi	209332-8		
4. 'Ular	128656-4	12605-8-0	
5. Phāk	71111-12-	17402-8-0	2. Khatar of <i>Jattet</i> , II, p. 355.
6. Dachin Pārā	75153-0-0	6902-12-0	
7. Khowar Pārā	45286-8-0	3575-12-0	
8. Kuthār ²	37479-4-0	3221-12-0	
9. Marū Wardwan (Marū Ādwin)		5041-0-0	3. Yecha of <i>Moorcraft, Travels</i> , Vol. II, p. 113.
10. Mattan	19043-8-0	1862-8-0	
11. Ādwin	101432-4-0	14815-10-0	
12. Ich ³	98369-0-0	14377-4-0	
13. Bānihāl	6435-0-0		4. Excluding Hāṣil Haṭab.
14. Batū	3521-0-0	4235-8-0	
15. Devasar	85644-8-0	8229-8-0	
16. Zainapūr	15875-4-0	1790-12-0	
17. Soporsoman ⁴	6133-0-0	2003-4-0	5. Zenakar of <i>Jarret</i> , II, p. 355.
18. Shawoora	39167-0-0	8550-12-0	
19. Shakrooh	45204-0-0	12757-8-0	
20. Nāgām	89770-12-0	22576-4-0	
21. Ver	12270-8-0	00838-0-0	6. Indarkol of <i>Jarret</i> , II, p. 355.
22. Zainagir ⁵	13253-0-0	3255-8-0	
23. Khoihāmā	15522-0-0	83607-0-0	
24. Indarkot ⁶	9553-4-0	7238-0-0	
25. Parispora	18803-12-0	3352-0-0	7. Bankal of <i>Jarret</i> , II, p. 355.
26. Pattan	4799-4-0	523-0-0	
27. Bāngil ⁷	15233-12-0	20280-4-0	

28. Beeru	57098-12-0 13383-0-0	
29. Telagām	15415-12-0 4435-0-0	
30. Dansū	53219-8-0 17038-8-0	
31. Dachin Khawoora	36222-4-0 20653-0-0	
32. Sairul-Mawazia ⁸	192641-4-0 18553-12-0	8. From each pargana
33. Khui	12945-4-0 370-0-0	a few fertile villages
34. Krohen	115474-0-0 29779-12-0	were attached to
35. Kamrāz	342844-4-0 103725-4-0	<u>Khaliṣa</u> and were
36. Lār ⁹	128650-0-0 22650-0-0	9. termed as Sairul-
37. Balda Srinagar ¹⁰	1698-4-0 42694-12-0	10. Mawāziā. The total

number of these villages was 109 (Narain Koul 'Ājiz in 1709).

Pargana Lār has not been mentioned in any of the MS of A'in while it was assessed by Shamasud-Din. The revenue figures for this pargana are from *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS, Vol I. Since the figures in various manuscripts vary from each other, I have consulted the following MS: Add. 7652, Br. MS., Blochmann (ed) *Jarrets II*, Sheifta, Collection MS & Sir Sulaiman Collection of M.A. Library, AMU., Aligarh. Nowal Kishore edition 1889.

TABLE III
JAMA'DĀMI FIGURES

Year	Jama'dami	Sources
1592-3	7,46,70,411	<i>A'in</i> , I, 570-71 (Bloch)
1594-95	7,63,72,165 ³ / ₄	"
"	6,22,02,203 ¹ / ₄	"
1595-96	6,21,13,045	"
1633-38	11,93,80,000	<i>Farhang-i-Kardani</i>
1638-1656	15,00,00,000	<i>Lahori</i>
"	14,00,00,000	"
"	14,68,50,000	"
"	11,43,80,000	"
"	14,02,00,000	"
"	11,71,80,000	"
"	12,62,85,000	"
"	11,43,80,000	"
"	14,02,01,900	"
1646-47	13,64,12,039	Add. 16863
1647	15,37,50,000	<i>Tārīkh-i-Shahjāhānī</i>
1646-56	15,02,00,000	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Navisandagi
C.1656	11,43,90,000	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ālamgiri
c. 1667	21,30,74,826	<i>Mir'at-ul-Ālam</i> , Add. 7657
c. 1687-91	22,49,11,397	<i>Zawābita-Ālamgiri</i> , Add. 6598, or 1641
c.1685-1695-96	22,99,11,397	Frazer 86
1687	22,99,11,397	<i>Intikhab-i-Dastūr-ul-Amal-i-Padshāhi</i>
1697-98	27,79,11,397*	<i>Khulāsa-tu-Siyāq</i> . *According to <i>Gulshan-i-Dastūr</i> , f. 437b. It was 27,32,694 dams only
1703	22,99,16,698	<i>Khalaqus-Siyāq</i>
1707	22,99,09,680	<i>Storia</i> , II (3)
1709	22,99,11,300	<i>Sajan Rai Bhandari</i>

CHAPTER : III

THE LAND REVENUE ORGANIZATION

Revenue assessment and collection was the most cumbersome job. This process stretched over nearly the entire year. It involved a large number of officials with the *Dīwān* at the top and village *mūqaddam* and *patwari* at the bottom.¹

As a matter of fact the entire bureaucracy was directly or indirectly involved in land revenue administration. Every *maṇṣabdār* held a rank and he received fixed remuneration in terms of area where he was to collect the revenue.² The state in lieu of his service provided the salary in cash of assigned certain area with the *jama* equal to the remuneration of his rank. The state thus delegated its authority to the *Maṇṣabdārs* to collect the revenue and charge their emoluments and the cost of the maintenance of their respective contingents from such accumulations. They administered their *jāgirs* through their agents. The villages where revenue was collected directly by the State, were known as *khālīṣa*. The chiefdoms of Little and Greater Tibet, Kashtawār, and Pakhli were assigned to the local chieftains as their *waṭan jāgīrs*, and they carried on the administration according to the traditional set-up.³ The revenue of these newly acquired territories was fixed arbitrarily and without any regard to actual realisations in order to determine the rank of the *waṭan jāgīr* holder.⁴ The Centre did not intervene in their territories so long they remained peaceful and paid the *pēshkash*, whatsoever, regularly.⁵

But the *jāgīrdārs* and *madadi ma'āsh* grant holders were bound to conform to the imperial directives and strictures while collecting the revenue.

In the land revenue administration, there were two sets of officials who were directly involved in it, viz, firstly, those who were appointed by the government and were subject to transfers; secondly, the permanent hereditary village officials like *Muqaddam*, *Patwari*, *Qānūngo* and *Choudhari*. The services of the permanent village officials were most essential in the *Khālīṣa* and equally in *jāgīrs* as well. Their pivotal role was to a larger extent responsible for shaping the socio-economic set up.⁶ But here we are concerned with their service which they rendered in connection with the land revenue administration.

Muqaddam, who played the part of an intermediary was the main pillar of land revenue system. His services along with the village *paṭwāri* were essential but he was never considered a government servant.^{6a} He assisted the *Khālīṣa* officials and the agents of the *jāgīrdār* in assessment and collection of land revenue.¹⁷

The grain was carried to the city of Srinagar through river transport. Therefore, it was the exclusive responsibility of the *muqaddam* to supervise and see if the grain collected in his village was delivered to the boatmen who were called *Tahvīldārs*.⁸

In order to prevent the shortfall in the revenue realisation *taqavi* loans and seeds were advanced to the ryots through him.⁹ He was to sign an undertaking guaranteeing the repayment of loan, cost of seed along with the interest.¹⁰ He functioned as the sole representative of the villagers and in due course of time *muqaddam* turned to be most resourceful and powerful person.¹¹ On account of identical interests *muqaddam* logically might have been fighting on behalf of the peasants against the atrocities of the *jāgīrdārs*. A solitary but significant evidence in *Khawāriqūs-Sālikīn* also supports our inference. Village *Pānzaṭ* of the *pargana* *Nāgām* was in the *jāgīr* of *ṣubahdār*. His agents were cruel and harassed the tenants. *Sheikh Fatah Dār muqaddam* of the village raised his voice against the agents.¹² Later he was imprisoned by the *Subahdār*.¹³

But at the same time the *muqaddam* did not lag behind in exploiting the tenants when his own interests were involved.¹⁴ The *muqaddam* kept the ryots divided and encouraged dissension among them.¹⁵ In some villages there used to be more than one *muqaddam*,¹⁶ possibly because of the hereditary character of the institution.

In lieu of their services (*muqaddami*), they received some perquisites in the form of revenue free land called *Nankar*.¹⁷

PAṬWĀRI:

Paṭwāri was hereditary village accountant,¹⁸ a close associate of *muqaddam*, and an accomplice of *Qānūngo*, who collectively turned a *dehqān* to a bonded labourer.¹⁹ In his satiric compilation *Hamidullah Shah Ābādi* gives us an interesting information about the tricks of the *paṭwāris* played with the peasants. His primary duty was

to maintain land records,^{19a} since the continuation of the land records was essential for determining the land revenue.²⁰ But to conceal his deceit he prepared spurious records besides the authentic ones.²¹ He accompanied *muqaddam* to pargana office at the time of annual verification of revenue assessment, collection and distribution of *taqāvi* and seeds.²² They were supposed to offer *Nazrānā* to *Pēshkār* and *Muharir* of the revenue court.^{22a}

TAHWILDĀR:

Most of the state demand in the *Ṣubah* was realized in kind²³ and the grain was deposited with the *Tahwildārs* or *Havāldār* or *Ambārdārs*.²⁴ Sometimes, the grain was collected in the same village in the granary of the *Tahwildār*,²⁵ who later carried it to the nearest river port wherefrom it was transported to Srinagar.²⁶ Sometimes, the ryots carried the grain in person and delivered the same to the *Tahwildār*, who apparently used to be a boatman.²⁷ The whole transaction was supervised by the *muqaddam* of the village.

The *Tahwildārs* executed an undertaking promising the safe delivery of the grain without any adulteration or embezzlement.²⁸ Samples of the grain were retained by the *muqaddam* for checking the grain at the time of delivery.²⁹

They charged the *mālguzār* with some extra grain in order to meet out wastage, and at the time of delivery he was given some rebate as well.³⁰ But at the time of his appointment his financial condition was also taken into consideration.³¹

Where the duties of *Ambārdār* were separate he was paid at the rate of 3 seers per *kharwār*. *Musharif* accompanied him while he was in his *mahal*.^{31a} It appears that an *ambārdār* was in charge of a *mahāl* where he was supposed to see if the share of the state was properly refunded.^{31b}

The chestnut growers had to pay the carriage charges to the *Tahwildār* at the rate of one tanka per *kharwār*.³² These operations were administered by the pargana officials, the *Āmil*, *Amīn*, *Choudhari* and *Qānūngo*. Besides, there were *kārkūn*, or *Betikchi*, *Mutaṣadi*^{32a} and *Fotadār* whose services were utilised for this purpose.

‘ĀMIL OR KARORI:

This institution was introduced in the *Ṣubah* by the Mughals. In 1586, Akbar appointed ‘*āmils* in each *pargana* to take charge of revenue administration.³³ The primary duty of ‘*amil* or *karori* was to supervise and expedite the collection of the revenue assessed by the *amīn*.³⁴ He was to ensure the cultivation of the arable land and provide *taqāvi* and seeds to the tenants.³⁵ In case the money was not available in the treasury the *amils* borrowed it from the *mahājans*.³⁶ At the time of revenue collection coercion was also applied if the tenant was adamant to pay the revenue.³⁷

Mahāsils were appointed in each village in order to watch grain fields, thrashing grounds, orchards and other fruit trees and to expedite the revenue collection by the *amil*.^{37 a}

The following papers and registers were maintained by the *karori*.

Jama-wa-Aṣalbāqi, *roznāmcha*, *adwārcha*, *Jamābandi*, *Jama-wa-Kharch Foṭadār*, maintenance of rate lists.³⁸ A copy of these documents was also submitted to the Provincial *Dīwān*.³⁹

In lieu of his services he received eight per cent of the revenue during the reign of Shahjahān, later he reduced it to 5 per cent.⁴⁰ During the reign of Aurangzeb he received 4 *kharwars* per 100 *kharwars*. One per cent of the commission was retained till the auditing was completed.⁴² His account papers were subject to rigorous checking particularly after his dismissal or transfer. It took a great deal of time, obviously the *amils* had to remain in the prisons for a longer duration.⁴³

‘*Āmil* was assisted by a large retinue of officials in his work. They were called *Kārkun* or *bitikchi*, *muṭaṣadi* and *Sehbandis*. Out of these *Kārkun* or *bitikchi* was of considerable importance.⁴⁴ His primary function was the maintenance of the account records. He received the revenue papers from the *Qānūngo* furnishing the details about the land of each individual cultivator village-wise.⁴⁵

In 1597, Akbar divided the *Ṣubah* into 14 divisions and two *bitikchis* were appointed in each division in order to scrutinize the village records and effect the fresh assessment.⁴⁶ *Kārkūn* was appointed on the recommendation of the *Amīn*.⁴⁷

FOTADĀR OR KHAZINADĀR:

There was a treasury in each *Parganā* and a central one in the provincial capital. The officer in charge was called *Khazīndār* or *khazānchi*.⁴⁸ He was assisted by one assistant called *madadgār*; besides *Amin*, *Dārogah*, *Musharif* and *pēshkār*.

The main function of this office was to receive the revenue from the royats directly or through the *muqaddam*. The *Khazānchi* was not entitled to disburse any amount without prior permission of the *Diwan* who controlled the treasuries in the *Ṣubah*. Nevertheless, in case of any emergency the *Khazānchi* could spend some reasonable amount in consultation with his colleagues and subsequent approval of *Dīwān*.⁴⁹

At the time of his appointment his financial position was also considered.⁵⁰

AMĪN OR MUNSIF:

Literally *Amīn* means a trustee. But practically he had to perform multifarious duties. He was a trustee who looked after the interests of ryots, and *jāgīrdārs* as well as of the state.^{50 a}

During the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr, *Amīn* was a *sarkār* official, but Shahjahan appointed *Amīns* in every *mahal* which undermined the importance of the *Āmil*.⁵¹ Hitherto *Āmil* supervised the entire *pargana* administration, but with the changed arrangement the *karori* only was to realize what the *Amīn* assessed.⁵²

Amin resolved disputes arising among assignees on the demarcation of their holdings and such other disputes relating to *jagirs*.⁵³ He maintained the following records: *Mawāzina Dah Sālā*, and *Tūmārī-Jama-Bandi*, bearing the signatures of Choudharis, *Qānūngo* and *Qāzi*. A copy of the papers maintained in his office was sent to the *Dīwān*.⁵⁴ He went in person from village to village to ascertain the actual cultivated land and *u'ftāda*⁵⁵ in consultation with the *muqaddam* and the *Qanūngo*.⁵⁶

QĀNŪNGO:

It is significant to find out whether *Qānūngo* was a village or a *parganā* official. Abul Fazl explicitly records in the *Ā'in* that there was a *Qanungo* in each *pargana*.⁵⁷ A similar official functioned in the province and was known as *Qānūngo-i-Kul*.⁵⁸ But a controversy has arisen on account of the significant evidences available in *Badshahnāma Qazvīnī*, and *Shahjāhān Nāmā* of Mohammad Sālih Kumbu stating that there were numerous *Qānūngos* in each village⁵⁹ and Shahjāhān in 6th R.Y. ordered the dismissal of all the additional *Qānūngos* known as *Qanungo-i-Jz'va*⁶⁰ which raises the assumption that since the *Qānūngoship* was a hereditary right and divisible among the successors. Therefore, the number kept on increasing. In order to have equal share in each village the *Qānūngos* have obviously divided these villages among themselves. This inference is further supported by a late 18th century administrative manual also.⁶¹

As such some additional *Qanungo* were appointed in each *pargana* subject to the mutual consent of the tenants. They received their emoluments from them which was known as *rasum*.⁶¹ The *Qānūngo-i-Juz* did not receive any *sanad* from the State.

The *Qānūngo-i-Jz'va* continued functioning in spite of the explicit orders of Shahjahan.⁶² The existence of more than one *Qūnūngo* was an additional burden on the peasants and *jāgīrdārs* because of their extortionate exactions and fraudulent accounts⁶³ which undermined the law and the sanctioned usage.

Qūnūngo was considered to be a "walking dictionary" of prevailing rules, customs, traditions and practices.⁶⁴ He maintained land records pertaining to assignments, grants and *khālīṣa* besides the revenue returns.⁶⁵ A duplicate copy of the papers was sent to the *Qānūngo-i-Kul*.⁶⁶

The *Qānūngos* were categorised in three grades, and their pay was fixed rupees fifty, thirty and twenty respectively in the form of *Jāgīr-i-Taṇ*.⁶⁷

CHOUDHARI:

The *Choudhari* was a *parganā* as well as a provincial official.⁶⁸ He functioned as a representative of the villagers and head of the *muqaddams*.⁶⁹ The office was hereditary,⁷⁰ but sometimes it was also conferred on new incumbents.⁷¹ It was the pleasure of the state to appoint or dismiss any *Choudhari*. Aurangzeb issued an order that there could not be more than two *Choudharies* in one *pargana*.⁷²

Choudharies usually used the good offices of the *Pēshkārs* to safeguard their own interests. They entered into league to mislead the *Subahdar* who by virtue of the nature of his duty was not, very often acquainted with the local traditions.^{72, a}

The prestige of provincial *Choudhari* increased tremendously, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁷³ They played a vital role in the economic exploitation of the peasants.^{73, a} The state kept them informed of all the assignments, grants, transfers and appointments.⁷⁴

Ijāradāri was a common feature during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁷⁵ *Choudharies* entered into a league with the *mustājir* while farming out the *khālīṣa* land.⁷⁶

Choudhari Mahēsh Koul grew so powerful that even *Ṣubahdār* was afraid of him.⁷⁷ He laid out a magnificent garden on the bank of Dal Lake spending thousands of rupees on its beautification.⁷⁸

DĪWĀN:

The *Dīwān* was the chief revenue and finance officer at the provincial level. His position was next to that of the *Ṣubahdār*.⁷⁸

Qazī Ali was the first *Dīwān* appointed in 1591 by the Emperor Akbar.⁷⁹ He was assisted by a large retinue of officials. Qazī's land revenue assessment provided a base for the Mughal land revenue system in Kashmir.⁸⁰

In 42nd year Akbar issued an order to make the *Dīwān* directly answerable to the Emperor and his status was elevated and he stood next to the *Subahdar*.⁸¹ But usually the *Dīwān* and *Ṣubāhdār* carried on the work without any animosity or confrontation.⁸² As a matter of fact in the absence of *Ṣubahdār* the *Dīwān* discharged his duties as *naib-ṣubahdār*. This inference is supported by various pieces of evidence.

Abul Fateh was *Dīwān* of Kashmir. During the absence of Hafizullah Khān, he functioned as the *Naib-Suba* for more than a year.⁸³ Arif Khān also discharged his services as a *nāib-i-suba* during the *Subahdāri* of Ali Mardan Khan who used to stay out of the *Subah* during the winter months.⁸⁴ Mullah Ashraf was *Sad'r* and *Diwan*. He also discharged his duties as *Naib* of Ibrahim Khan,⁸⁵ in 1687-8.

It is also significant that pluralities of offices were conferred on some incumbents and the same person could function as the *Diwan*, the *Sad'r*, the *Qāzi*, and the *Qānūngo-i-Kul*.⁸⁶ Mullah Ashraf was *Sad'ras* well as *Dīwān*.⁸⁷ Khwaja Hashim was *Qānūngo-i-Kul* and held the post of *Dīwān* also.⁸⁸ Qāzi Aslam was *Qāzi*, *Bakhshi*, *Wāqā-i-Nigār* and held the post of *Dīwān* also.⁸⁹

The combination of so many posts in one person would have encouraged corruption and malpractices.⁹⁰

Provincial *Dīwān* was directly appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the *Diwān-i-Āla*.⁹¹

As stated above the *jāgīrdārs* were free to administer and manage their own *jāgīrs* according to their choice.⁹² *Diwān* was liaison between the state and the assignee.⁹³ *Diwan* scrutinized and executed *sanads* and the *firmāns* to the assignees.⁹⁴

The *pargana* officials submitted the records pertaining to revenue administration to him. He accordingly advanced information to the *Diwān-ālā*.⁹⁵ The *Dīwān* also exercised general supervision over the revenue ministry. He could dismiss any corrupt official.⁹⁶ He took note of the arrangements for the distribution of *taqāvi* and seeds.⁹⁷ He resolved the disputes arising among the *jāgīrdārs* and the *mustājir*.⁹⁸ The following documents were maintained in his office. Receipt of official letters and their execution, assessment and collection reports, income and expenditure papers, treasury records, grant and assignment papers and agreements and undertakings executed with the state servants and assignees.⁹⁹

The *Dīwān* was a *manṣab-holder* and received *jāgīrs* in lieu of his services.¹⁰⁰

The office of the *Dīwān* was also called *Kacheri Dīwāni*. He was assisted by an assistant known as *peshkar*. He had two clerks at his disposal. Next to him in rank was called *Daroga*. He was helped by a

pēshkāṛ and one clerk known as *Muhariri Wasūli*. The main function of the latter was to receive the letters and collect the fines etc. etc.

The main office was run by a *munshi*. He was assisted by a few other officials called *Daftar-Band* and *Mudadgār*.^{100a} Their emoluments varied from regime of regime. During the *Subahdari* of Ibrahim Khan the *Peshkar* was paid only Rs. 25 while under Jafar Khan he was given Rs 61, but under Sadat Khan he was paid only Rs. 20^{100b}

The big *jāgīrdārs* and the princes of the royal blood who had large areas in their *jagirs* almost followed an identical administrative set up. They appointed their own *amala*, and the requisite staff.¹⁰¹

1. B.B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India*, p. 638.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 127
2. Abdul Aziz, *Manṣabdārī System of the Mughals*, etc. pp. 1-4
3. See Chapter II: for further details.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 294; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 287.
5. "*Akhbārāt*, 12 Rabiul Awal, 43 R.Y."
Muharam, 13th R.Y.
6. *Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn*, f. 119a
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 400-1
Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 177.
S.Nurul Hasan, *Zamindars under the Mughals*, published in *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian history*, p. 25.
E.F. Knight, *Where the Three Emperors Meet*, pp. 65-66.
- 6a. *Khawāriq-us-Sālikīn*, f. 119a.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 129-30
7. *Inshai Har Karan*, (Folios not page-marked) 406/139 Subhanullah Collection, Maulana Azad History, AMU., Aligarh.
8. *Farhang-i-Kārdani*, ff. 35-36.
Letter Collection Acc No. 2776 f. 7ab.
Research Library, Srinagar.
9. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 530b, 531a.
10. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 314a-b, 524a.
Farhang-i-Kardani, ff. 35-36.
Moreland, *Agrarian system of Moslem India*, p. 177.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*. pp. 131-32.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.

11. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, p. 177.
E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 65-66.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.
12. *Khawariqus-Sālikīn*, f. 119a.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Hamidullah Shahābādī, *Dastūrul Amal*, f. 4.
15. *Ibid.*
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 132.
16. *Inshai Har Karan*, 406/139, Subhanullah Collection,
Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 314a-b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*,
p. 131
17. *Diwan Pasand*, f. 41.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 532a.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.
E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 65-66
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*,
p. 127
S. Nurul Hasan, "Zamindars Under the Mughals," p. 25.
18. The institution was existing in the *subah* since a very long time by the name of
Grāmadvira, R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*. p. 401.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 447.
19. Hamidullah Shahābādī *Dasturul Amal*, f. 7.
(ii) E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, p. 78
- 19a. A'in, I, p. 209; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 135.
N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 18-19.
20. A'in, I, p. 209; P. Saran, *Provincial Administration*,
etc., p. 243.
21. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 446
- 21a. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*,
p. 135.
22. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534b.
- 22a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 532a.
23. A'in, II, pp. 273-74. Add. 7652, f. 297b.
24. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 431a, 452b.
25. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 430b.
26. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 431a.
27. Inshai Har Karan, op. cit. Ramzan Bhat, boatman, was *Tahvildar* for the village
Badr (village not identified) of *pargana* Brang. Karam Hanji, son of Rajab Mathanji,
was *ghatdar* of village Kemu, *Insha* No. 3102. Research Library, Srinagar;
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.
28. *Insha* Collection No. 3102, op. cit, Research Library, Srinagar.

29. Ibid. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a; *Insha Collection* No. 3102, Research Library, Srinagar.
30. *Mālguzār* is one who was to pay the *mal*.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 530b.
31. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 345b.
- 31a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 347a, 452b.
- 31b. He received his emoluments only after the grain was delivered to the *Tahwildārs*.
See *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 347a.
32. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 530b.
- 32a. According to P. Saran *Muṭasādī* had a *vide* canotation and was applied to various types of executive officials. *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 102.
33. *Tabqāti-Akbarī*, pp. 371-2.
Hasan Beg Khāki, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 36a.
In 19th year Akbar introduced some new measures to check the frauds and embezzlements. An area yielding a carore of tankas was assigned to an official called Karori; the experiment was later discontinued, but the word Karori still stuck to the *amil* or *amalguzār*. *Ā'in*, II, p. 288. *Khulāstus Siyāq*, f. 26a; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 275,80.
34. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 533b.
Dastūrul Āmli Ālamgiri, Add. 6599, f. 196,
Khulāstus-Siyāq, f. 27. *Ā'in* in the chapter of *Amal Guzar* has laid down detailed directives for karori.
35. *Ā'in*, II, p. 288 (N.K.), *Diwān Pasand*, p. 30621, f. 6;
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 524.
36. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 524.
37. *Ā'in*, II, p. 288.
- 37a. *Durrul aloom*, f. 164b. It appears *Mahāsil* and *Muṭasādī* was only one official.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, p. 532. See also *Tuzuk*, p. 308.
38. *Zawābita Ālamgiri*, f. 8a, *Hālāt-i-Mamālīki Mahroosā*, Add. 6598, f. 133.
39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 530a.
40. *Ā'in*, has not given the pay schedule of Karori, *Khulāstus-Siyāq*, f. 26; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 289.
41. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536.
42. *Khulāstus-Siyāq*, f. 27; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 289.
43. Chandhar Bhan Brahman, *Chār Gulshan*, f. 20.
Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuḥfatul Fuqārā*, f. 99a.
44. P. Saran *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 287-8, supposed that *Bitikchi* was a separate official other than *Karkun*. But as a matter of fact, their functions were quite identical. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 281.
N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, pp. 19,79,85 and 86.

Sihbandis literally means soldiers or peons employed for the collection of revenue.

They helped the revenue collecting authorities during harvest. *Yāsin's Glossary of Revenue Terms*, f. 66.

These troopers helped *jagirdars* also, and received their perquisites mainly from assignees at the rate of 4 p.c. In the *khālīṣa* lands *Sihbāndi* charges were not imposed. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536b. See also ff. 523 and 526.

45. *A'in*, II, p. 200 (N.K.). *Nigār Nāma Munshi*, ff. 77a-78b. See also *Dastūrūl-ʿAmali Baikas*, ff. 12-13.
46. *A.N.*, III, pp. 726-27. See also Chapter II, Section I.
47. *Nigār-Nāma Munshi*, ff. 78-8.
48. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 452a. See also *A'in*, II, pp. 231-32. (N.K.), *Nigār Nāma Munshi*, ff. 77a-78b. and *Dastūrūl-ʿAmali Baikas*, ff. 12-13.
49. The revenue was realized in kind but other cesses were paid in cash.
50. *Diwān Pasand*, f. 83.
- 50a. *Khulāsatus-Siyāq*, f. 18. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 87. p. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 292. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 84. Hāji Khairullah, *Dastūrūl-ʿAmali Jahān Kushā*, 328-98. Abdus Salam Collection, AMU., Aligarh, ff. 54-5.
51. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 84.
52. *Khulāsatus-Siyāq*, f. 18. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 254, also.
53. In 1074 H there was a dispute on the demarcation of the land between Sheikh Qasim and Mir Jāfar. *Amin* went to person and resolved the dispute. Document No. 23, Research Library, Srinagar. *Inshai-ʿĀlamgiri*, 334/67. Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
54. *Zawābita-ʿĀlamgiri*, or 1641. f. 36. *Hidāyatul-Qawā'id*, op. cit.
N.A. Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 84.
55. *Hidāyatul-Qawā'id*, op. cit.
56. *Ibid*.
57. *A'in*, I, p. 209
58. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 172.
N.A. Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 87-89.
59. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, II, f. 268a.
Kumbu, *ʿAmil Ṣālih*, I, p. 545.
But inscription on the gate of Jama Masjid, dated 7th Isfandyār of Ilahi year, does not mention *Qānuṅgo-i-Juz*.
60. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, II, f. 268a.
61. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a.
See also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 84.
- 61a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*-531a.

62. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 445.
63. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, II, f. 268a.
Kumbu, *Āmalī Šālīh*, I, p. 545.
Abdul Hamid Shahabadi, *Dasturul-Amal*, f. 4.
64. *A'in*, I, p. 209
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 76-77
65. *A'in* I, p. 209.
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 76-77
66. N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 87-89.
67. *A'in*, I, p. 209.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 432.
68. N.A. Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 90.
69. I.H. Quraishi, *Mughal Administration* p. 244, suggests that the *Choudhari* was a village headman, which is not supported by facts.
70. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 213.
71. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 148.
72. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 292. S.Nurul Hasan, *Zamindārs Under the Mughals*, p. 25, printed in *Journal Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, London.
- 72a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 438a.
73. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-at-Tawārīkh* f. 176b.
(ii) P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir* p. 214.
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārīkh*, f. 176b. MSS, 177a.
14 Research Library, Srinagar.
- 73a. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārīkh*, ff. 176b, 177a. He received more than 18000 rupees as *Choudhari* from cash and kind *mahals*.
74. See the revenue documents and administrative manuals of this period. Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 73.
75. "Akhbārāt, 39th R.Y.",
Waqaya Ranthumbore and Ajmir, Transcript Copy., the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.
76. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 434.
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārīkh*, f. 176a-b.
77. Diwan Kripa Ram, *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, p. 214. Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 73
Birbal Kachroo, *Majmut-Tawārīkh* f. 177a.
78. Diwan Kripa Ram *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, p. 214.
P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 401.
79. *A'in*, II, p. 273. Add 7652, B.M., f. 297b.
Firishta, I, p. 268, *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 376.
Bada'uni *Muntakhibul-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 381.
Ma'asir-i-Rahīmī, I, pp. 924-5.
See also Chapter I for his biographical sketch.

- 79a. P. Saran States that there was dyarchy in the Province, as well as in the *Sarkārs* in which the *Faujdar*s and *Amalquzars* corresponded to the *Subahdar* and the *Diwan*, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, P. 102, but after a thorough perusal of source material, we have solid ground to differ with his opinion.
80. *A'in*, II, p. 273, Add. 7852, B.M., f. 297b.
81. N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 73.
82. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 62, has remarked that *Diwan* was rival of *Subahdar*. We don't come across any such evidence in Kashmir. There was substantial difference between the rank of *Diwan* and *Subahdar*. *Subahdar*s never had a rank below 1000 while *Diwan* in many cases held the rank of 200 and not more than 1000. Mir Ahmad Khan, *Diwan* of Kashmir (1682), had a *mansab* of 500/50 "Akhbarat, Rajab, 24 R.Y." Rahmat Khan was appointed in 1659 as *Diwan* of Kashmir with a *mansab* of 1000/200, Mohammad Kāzim, *Alamgir Nāma*, I, p. 487. Hasan Beg had a *mansab* of 400/203 "Akhbarat 43rd year," besides we have substantial information when *Diwan* was to provide the monthly and periodical information to the *Subahdar*, *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, f. 436b.
83. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.
84. Narain Koul Ajiz, *Mukhtasar Tarikh Kashmir*, f. 106.
85. Mohammad Murād Tang, *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 99a. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 193.
86. "Akhbarat, 26 Shāban, 43rd Year."
87. *Supra* 85
88. *Supra* 86
89. *Ibid*. *Badshah Nāma*, Lahori, II, p. 362.
90. *Inshai-Ālamgiri*; Sulaiman Collection 334/67, AMU., Aligarh, op. cit.
91. *Badshah Nāma*, Lahori, II, p. 362. "Akhbarat, 26 Shaban, 43 R.Y.," Ahmad Quli Safvi, *Tarikh-i-Ālamgiri*, f. 43a-b. Mohammad Šādiq Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 90a-b. *Zawābita-Ālamgiri*, f. 32a.
92. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 273-74.
93. *Ibid*. p. 294.
94. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, f. 431b. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 294.
95. *Hālāt-i-Mamālīki Mahroosa*, add. 6598, f. 146.
96. *Nigār Nāma Munshi*, ff. 69-70.
97. Mohamad Šādiq Khan, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahān-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 97. *Inshai-Ālamgiri*, 334/67, Sulaiman Collection, AMU., Aligarh.
98. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, 426.
99. *Hālāt-i-Mamālīki Mahroosa*, Add 6598, ff. 46, 132. *Dastur-Amali Balkas*, f. 17. *Khulasatua-Siyāq*, National Archives, New Delhi, f. 19. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, f. 431b.

100. *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri*, f. 43a.

"*Akhbārāt*, 24, 46 R.Y."

Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 283.

100a *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 450b, 451a.

100b *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 454a.

101. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 522-535b.

P.Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 273-74.

N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 102.

REVENUE ASSIGNMENTS AND GRANTS

It has been stated that the land revenue was a tax on the produce of the land to carry on the day to day administration.¹ In the *khālīṣa* lands, it was collected by the officials of state and deposited in the state treasury, but in the *jagīr* lands this right was delegated to *mansabdars* in lieu of certain obligations and duties which they performed for the state.² The *mahāls* in the first category were technically called *khālīṣa* and the second as *jāgīrs*.³

There were two other types of *jagīrs* known as *In'ām jāgīr* and *Mashroot*. *In'ām jāgīr* was conferred on some *manṣabdār* by way of a reward for some extraordinary performance,⁴ while *Mashroot* assignment was made subject to the assignee's performing certain duties or fulfilling obligations of a specific nature as elaborated in the terms in pursuance of assignment subsequently.⁵

Besides, cash awards or land grants were conferred upon men of letters, eminent scholars, distinguished poets, sufis and muslim ladies.⁶ These grants were not subject to any kind of obligation. Such grants were called *madad-im'ash* grants.⁷ The land thus was divided into three divisions, the *khālīṣa*, *jāgīr* and *Madad-i-M'āsh* lands. Most of the land revenue was assigned in *jāgīrs* and about 5 per cent pertained to *khālīṣa*.

Qāzi Ali, the *Dīwān* of Kashmir conducted an exhaustive survey in A.D. 1591 for the proper assessment of the land revenue.⁸ He divided the *Subah* into 38 *mahals*.⁹ Some of the most fertile villages in each *pargana* were earmarked for *khālīṣa*.¹⁰ The villages above Srinagar were called *Sairul Mawāziā-bālā* and below Srinagar *Sairul-Mawāziā payeen*.¹¹ The revenue of these villages was assessed at two lakhs one thousand and ninety-five *kharwārs* of paddy roughly about 6½ p.c. of the total revenue.¹² Meanwhile, Yousf Khān Rīṣvi was reluctant to accept the enhanced revenue and whole of Kashmir was placed under the *Khālīṣa*, but this arrangement remained functional only for a short period.¹³

The ratio between *khālīṣa* and *jāgīr* almost remained the same during the reign of *Jahāngīr* and *Shahjahan*. But under *Aurangzeb* it was reduced to 3.62 per cent in 1673-74¹⁴ and this decline trend continued. In 1669-1700 it was 2.62 per cent.¹⁵

During 1586 and 1627 saffron-producing area was exclusively earmarked for *khālīṣa*,¹⁶ but later it was also parcelled out among *jāgirdārs*,¹⁷ and only some portions were retained in the *khālīṣa*.

Noushahra,¹⁸ Punch,¹⁹ Damyāl, Karnav, Pakhli²⁰ and Rajouri²¹ were always assigned in *jāgīrs*. While little Tibet, greater Tibet, and Kashtawār were assigned to the local chieftains in *waṭan*.²² It is peculiar to note that the far-off regions which were exposed to the disturbances and upheavals, were not attached to *khālīṣa*. But as a matter of fact such Mahāls were usually assigned to powerful nobles.

It is also peculiar to note that the scenic spots and tourist resorts were either assigned to the princes of royal blood and ladies of haram or to *umara'uzām*.

Bijbehara was a place of considerable importance. The old fort was repaired by Akbar and a *thānedār* was posted there to administer the Marāz division.²³ The village was assigned to Prince Parvez,²⁴ Shahjahān assigned this to Dārā Shukoh. It was in his *Jāgīr* along with Noushahra till his death,²⁵ and Aurangzeb assigned this *jāgīr* to Prince Mu'azam.²⁶ Inch was assigned to Rām Dās Kachwāhā by Akbar.²⁷ In 1622, Jahangir assigned it to Khāni-jahān.²⁸ In 1640-41, Shahjahān gave it to Islām Khān and named the *pargāna* as Islamabad.²⁹ Aurangzeb assigned it to Prince Mu'azam.³⁰

Village Ṣafapūr a beautiful tourist spot famous for scenic beauty of the Mānasbal lake was in the *jāgīr* of Nūrjahān Begum. In 1644-45, it was assigned to Jahān Ārā Begum.³¹ One of the gardens was assigned to Dara Shukoh.³² Village Achaval was in the *jāgīr* of Jahān Ārā Begum which was later assigned to Zebun-Nisa Begum³³ by Aurangzeb. Loka Bhawan was in the *Tayul* of Aurangzeb and later it was assigned to Muhammad Mu'azam.³⁴

During 1594, and 1597, entire *ṣubah* was given to Ahamad Beg Khān, Muhammad Quli Beg, Hamza Beg, Gird Ali, Hasan Ali Arab, and Muhammad Beg.³⁵ But in 1597 their *jāgīrs* were resumed, and Kashmir was assigned to Āsaf Khān.³⁶

It has been mentioned elsewhere that the *jagirs* were frequently transferred and as such it is not possible to work out the holdings of such large number of *jāgirdārs*.

It is obvious that the assignees were not necessarily posted in the same province where they had their *jāgīrs*.³⁷ They managed their assignments through their agents and trustees.³⁸

It appears that the agents did not fulfil the conditions faithfully, and as such the *jāgīrdārs* were put into great trouble.³⁹ Such a state of affairs compelled the *jāgīrdārs* to farm out their holdings to merchants who apparently were natives. The parties entered into a contract stipulating the conditions.⁴⁰ At the time of contract the farm merchant, technically called *mustājir* advanced some amount to the *jāgīrdār*.⁴¹ A lumpsum was arbitrarily fixed by the parties.⁴² *Mustājir* appointed his own staff to collect the revenue from the tenants. They had obviously nothing to do with the betterment of the *ryots* and did not take steps to increase or at least maintain the previous *jama*. Though the *mustājir* were supposed to advance *taqāwī* and seeds to the peasants for their own benefit,⁴³ which was collected at the time of harvesting including the interest.^{43a}

The merchants made handsome profits although the restrictions were imposed upon them not to collect more amount than stipulated in the agreement. Since *jāgīrs* were frequently transferred, therefore, the *mustājir* was not sure if he could keep the lease for the stipulated period. The *jāgīrdārs* off and on frustrated the agreements and entered into new contracts with the highest bidders.⁴⁴ Keeping in view these conditions the revenue farmer appropriated as much revenue as possible.⁴⁵ It appears the revenue farming had become wide-spread during the late 17th century. A parallel administration of the intermediaries appears to have emerged out. The ultimate result was the fall in the revenue, and ruin of the villages; it was under these circumstances that Aurangzeb passed orders to discontinue the practice of revenue farming.⁴⁶ In case of non-compliance the assignments of the *jāgīrdārs* were to be resumed.⁴⁷

We can imagine the margin of the profit accumulated by the *mustājir* by going through a petition submitted to Aurangzeb by the *ljāradars* for continuation of this system. They had advanced huge amounts and were not in a position to recover even a thousand rupees from their clients, but Aurangzeb did not yield and directed them to recollect from those to whom it was advanced.⁴⁸

ljāradārī was not only prevalent among the *jāgīrs*, but under the latter Mughals even *khalisa* land was farmed out though occasionally.

The river and octroi-posts were also leezed out.⁴⁹ The lessees had to execute an agreement and pay the stipulated amount monthly.⁵⁰

This system appears to have posed so many administrative, social and economic problems; and a new class of intermediaries was created who put extra burden on the shoulders of peasantry especially The rural economy further deteriorated and a new urban middle class began to emerge.⁵¹ The corrupt officials entered into league with the *musṭajir* and they also made huge profits. Though it was expressly forbidden. No official or *muqaddam*, *paṭwāri* or any person connected with the land revenue was allowed to get any lease.

Ijārādāri was not only harmful to the peasantry but it effected the state exchequer as well.

GRANTS:

Land and cash grants were bestowed upon Brahmans, Muslim theologians and men of letters even before the Mughal rule.⁵² During our period these grants were known as *Milk*, *amlāk* and *Suyūrgḥāl*.⁵³ But the term *Madadi-Ma'āsh* gained currency subsequently, *a'ima* was also used for the land grants,⁵⁴ while the cash grants were called *wazīfa*.⁵⁵ The grants given to shrines, mosques and *madrasas* were known as *waqf*.⁵⁶

A *farman* to this effect was issued by the emperor on the occasion of conferring this grant. Such *farmans* had almost a set text in which the rights and favours were noted down. These grants were granted by the state as well as by the *jagirdars* to the men of religion, shrines, mosques, learned persons and muslim ladies.⁵⁷ But the *jāgīrdārs* grants were only for their own term, however, traditionally the new *jāgīrdārs* allowed them to enjoy these benefits,⁵⁸ they could not claim any kind of ownership or hereditary right. But these rights were established in 1662 by Aurangzeb.⁵⁹

In the grant documents specific area in terms of *kharwārs*⁶⁰ or *bighas* was mentioned. The officials were directed to *Chak* and demarcate the area granted in *madadi-ma'āsh*.⁶¹ Both the *jāgīrdār* and the officials did not allow any *a'ima* holder to cultivate any land in excess to the grant.⁶²

There were some grantees who were paid in kind. But they were directed to collect the grain from specific villages and the *muzarian*,

muqaddamān, and *mutaṣadis* were also directed to release the sanctioned quantity.⁶³

They were exempted from all the obligations like *Wajūhāt-u-Awārzāt*, and were not required to maintain any contingent, etc.⁶⁴

Half of the land was granted from the culturable waste and half from the cultivated one. Sometimes whole of the grant was assigned out of culturable waste land.⁶⁵

Subsequently, the basic nature of the grants was changed. In 5th R.Y. Shahjahan issued an order confirming hereditary rights up to 30 *bighas*; and if the grant exceeded 30 *bighas*, half of it was allowed to be retained by the heirs,⁶⁶ which was reduced to 20 *bighas* by Aurangzeb.⁶⁷ In 1691-92 the grantees were given hereditary rights.⁶⁸

The grants assigned to shrines, mosques, tombs, etc. were administered by *mutawalis*.⁶⁹ The income of these grants and *Nazūrāt* were utilized for the maintenance of the shrines, free kitchens, and the rest was distributed among the *mujāwirān*.⁷⁰

No rigidity or strict conformity to the observance of traditional rules was maintained in the matter of *madadi Ma'āsh* grants. The piety, eminence of scholarship, the social status and economic condition of the grantees were taken into consideration.

The deserving persons put forward their representations through the *Qāḍi* and the *sadr-juz* or provincial *Ṣadr*.⁷⁰ He submitted these applications to the *Sadru-sadur* with his endorsement. *Ṣadru-ṣadūr* presented the applications to the emperor and sanctions were granted. The grant documents were endorsed by the *Ṣadru-Sadūr* on the backside and a summary called *ẓemen* was also scribed on the backside of the document.⁷¹

Sometimes, the nobles, *zamindārs* and influential people submitted applications on behalf of the *ṣūfis*, saints and their descendants for the sanction of such grants.⁷² The ladies represented their cases through their *vakīls*.⁷³

The documents were checked periodically and duly endorsed by the officials concerned.

It has been already mentioned that the revenue department was administered by *Diwān-i-Ṣubāh*, but the *maddi-Ma'āsh* grants were

supervised by the ministry of religious affairs; but *subahdār* also could confiscate the *madadi ma'āsh* grants.⁷⁴

It is significant to note that *madadi ma'āsh* grants were mostly assigned in the *Sairul-Mawāziā* (villages earmarked for *khālisa* from each pargana) Nāgām, Adwin, and Kuṭhār.

Besides *jagirs* and grants. *Al-tamgha jagirs* were also conferred on various nobles. Such a *jagir* was for the first time granted to Malik Haidar, historian, architect of Kashmir by Jahangir sometime in 9th R.Y.⁷⁵ Another evidence regarding *Al-Tamgha* grant is confirmed by a *farmān* of Shahjahan to Asafudaula preserved in *Tarikh-i-Hasan*.⁷⁶

On the basis of both these pieces of evidence it is obvious that *Al-tamgha* grants were permanent in nature and without any kind of obligations. These grants were almost similar to *madadi ma'āsh* grants.⁷⁷

1. *A'in* (N.K.) I, pp. 203-4. Beveridge has translated *mal* as rent. See Chapter II, Section I, for details.
2. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 256-7 N.A. Siddiqi *Land Revenue Administration*, pp. 77 & N, 80.
3. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 256-7; 259. N.A. Siddiqi *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 77-80.
4. In 1622, Dilawar Khān annexed Kashtawār, and Jahāngir conferred one lakh rupees, the revenue of the territory to him as *in'am* for one year only. *Tuzuk*, p. 297.
5. *Akhbārāt*, 12 R.Y. Rabi II., 16th Ramzān, 44 R.Y. Shābān, 46th R.Y.
6. *A'in* (Blochmann), 348-90, Documents Nos. 1a-b, 51, 18, 21, 27 and 5. Research and Publication Centre, K.U.
7. *A'in* (Blochmann), Vol I, pp. 348-90. W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 277. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 313. Abul Faḍl has provided us details about the *sayurgal* extend at the time of compilation of the *A'in* (40 R.Y.), but this column is quite blank so far as *Suba Kashmir* is concerned. It suggests that Akbar did not confer any land or cash grant during this period.
8. *Raja Tarangini*, Vol 3, tr. J.C. Dutt, p. 418.
9. *Ibid*, See Chapter II, Section I. *A'in II*, (N.K.) pp. 273-74. Add 7652, f. 297a.
10. *A'in*, II, (N.K.), p. 274. Add 7652, f. 247b.
11. *Ibid*,
12. *Ibid*. The total revenue was *khār wārs* 30603050-11.
13. *A.N.*, III, p. 627. *Iqbal Nama Jahāngiri*, II, p. 429. *M.U.*, III, p. 319.
14. *Khulāsatu-Siyāq*, 410/143, Subhanullah Collection, f. 32.

15. *Dastūrul ʿAmali Mulla Mohammad Amin*, f. 16
A.N., III, p. 627
16. *A'in*, I, Add. 7652. *Iqbāl Nāmā Jahāngiri*, II, f. 42b.
17. *Qazvini*, III, 268a.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Sālih*, II, pp. 543-4.
18. *Halati Mamalik-i-Mahroosa*, Add. 6598, f. 199, revenue of Noushahra was 39037 dāms. It was in the *jāgir* of Dara Shukouh. It was later resumed and assigned in *jāgirs* again. *Zawābila Ālamgiri*, or 1641, f. 156.
19. Punch was assigned to Mir Naṣrullah Ārab in 1624-25 *Iqbāl Nāmā Jahāngiri*, III, p. 597. Lahori, *Badshah Nāmā*, II, p. 432, Waris, *Bādshah Nāmā*, ff. 249-50.
20. See Chapter I, Section III.
A.N. III, 565; *Iqbāl Nāmā*, II, 412.
21. See Chapter I, Section III.
Adābi Ālamgiri, f. 149a.
22. See Chapter I, Section II.
23. Faizi Sarhindi, *Akbar Nāmā*, f. 238-39a.
24. *Iqbāl Nāmā Jahāngiri*, Vol III, p. 569.
25. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, (ii), p. 49; II, p. 208 Qazvini, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, III, f. 327a-b.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Sālih*, II, p. 331.
26. *Kalimatu-Taybat*, f. 87.
27. *Tuzuki-Jahāngiri*, p. 313.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Lahori, *Badshah Nāmā*, II, p. 209.
Kumbu, *ʿAmali Sālih*, II, p. 331.
30. Mohammad Kāzim, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, II, p. 836.
31. Lahori *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 195.
Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 317.
32. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 317
Ṣādiq Khān *Tārikh-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 107.
33. Kumbu, *ʿAmali Sālih*, II, p. 331.
(ii) Mohammad Kāzim, *Ālamgiri Nāmā*, II, p. 836.
34. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 211.
35. A.N., III, p. 654, Faizi Sarhindi, *Akbarnāmā*, f. 222a.
36. A.N. III, p. 732.
37. *Waḡāi-Ranthambore*, Wa-Ajmir, Transcript copy of the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh, p. 71.
38. *Ruḡqāt Ālamgiri*, letter No. 175 to Asad Khān.
(ii) *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 342.
39. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 339a.
Ruḡʿat-i-Ālamgiri, letter No. 175 to Asad Khān.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 233.

40. *Nigār Nāma*, Munshi, Add 6599, f. 189.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 342a, 533-37
 N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp 92-93., suggested that *ljāra* and *Tāāhhud* were two different types of revenue farming. In *Tāāhhudi*, the former was entitled to deductions effected on account of natural calamities. He was to report the increase and decrease in the revenue to the concerned officials. The *Tāāhhudi* was a government official while as *Mustājir* was not a state official. But the details available in *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 342a an administrative manual of late 18th century make us infer that the *Mustājir* and *Muta'ahidi* were synonymous. See Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 278.
41. "Akḥbārāt, Jamadi II, 39 R.Y." *Waqai-Ajmir-wa-Ranthumbore*, transcript copy, Department of History, AMU., Aligarh, p. 71.
42. N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 92.
43. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 422-3.
- 43a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 340a.
44. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 422-3, 425.
45. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 285
46. "Akḥbārāt, 37/38 R.Y." Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 285.
47. "Akḥbārāt, Jamid, II, 39 R.Y." It appears the assignees were adamant to comply with the orders, therefore, Aurangzeb ordered to confiscate the farmed out *jāgirs*. However, it appears the orders were not executed in letter and spirit. This institution developed and attained the climax under the latter Mughals.
48. "Akḥbārāt, Jamid II, 39 R.Y."
49. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 522, 532a.
50. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 532a. In case the traffic remained suspended either because of heavy snowfalls, etc. etc., the lessees were given exemption.
51. I.A. Khān, "Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire" Presidential Address, Indian History Congress 36th Session, Aligarh. See also article, C.W. Smith, "Middle Classes A Hypothesis" published in *Islamic Culture*, Vol 37, 1942.
52. Jona Raja, *Raja Tarangini* (tr. R.C. Dutt), pp. 87-88, Shrivara, *Raja Tarangini* (tr. R.C. Dutt), pp. 99, 209-10.
 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 199-200/
53. *A'in I*, (N.K.), pp. 140-1. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 208-9. Shirin Moosvi, "Suyūrghāl Statistics in *A'in*, paper read in I.H.C. Aligarh Session, 1975.
54. In all the land grant documents the term "*Madadi-Ma'āsh*" has been used.
55. Research Library, Srinagar, Document No. 23.
56. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 312-3 & n.
57. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, 112a.
Nishān of Jahān Ara Begam to Sheikh Qāsim, 19th R.Y. of Shahjahan, Research Library, Srinagar; Lahori *Badshah Nama*, I, pp. 332-3; Mohd Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul-Fuqāra*, f. 84a, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir* p. 136. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 63, 125-26.

58. Research Library, Srinagar, *Document No. 17*, supports our assumption. Baba Abdul Hakim, son of Baba Abdul Rashid, was granted 5 kharwars, 8 tracks of land in *Madadi Ma'ash*. It continued to be in the possession of his successors even after 1709. See also document No. 21, Research Library, Srinagar. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 315.
59. The above cited *farmans* fully endorse our statement. The sons of Bābā Abdul Rashid retained the grant, not on the basis of the inheritance, but the labour which was put in while bringing the forest land under plough, was taken into consideration. However, in 1709 only 100 kharwars of rice out of the produce of said grant was given to the family.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 531a.
The contention of N.A. Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, p. 125, and I.H. Qurashi, *The Administration of the Mughals*, p. 211, that the *Madadi Ma'ash* grantees enjoyed all the benefits of private property. They were entitled to dispose of or lease out their farms, is not supported by the grant documents available to us. See document Nos 17, 18, 20, 21 and 50, Research Library, Srinagar. See also Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 306.
"Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in "Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, supports our inference; but partially. He opins that *Madadi Ma'ash* land grants were bequeathed, but the holders were not entitled to dispose of the land.
60. Kharwār was unit of measurement and as well as a unit of weight in Kashmir. See Chapter II, Section III.
61. Sheikh Abdul Rashid, in his article, published in "Journal of Pakistan Historical Society," Vol 9, I, 1961, pp. 98-108, also has the same opinion, but mentions that the grants were hereditary in nature, and more stable than the *jagirs*.
- 61a. Research Library Srinagar No. 21, in a land grant of one hundred kharwars granted to Musmāti Jana Bibi and others descendants of Sheikh Abdul Hakim, the concerned officials were directed to demarcate the sanctioned area. Kharwār was both a unit of weight and measurement. See Chapter II, Section I.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 301.
62. Research Library Document No. 23, dated 16 Shawal, 1074 H. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 302.
63. Farman of Shahjahan, to Bano wife of Muhammad Muqīm in 19th R.Y. Research Library, Srinagar. *Nishan* of Jahān Āra Begum issued in favour of Sheikh Qasim, nephew of Sheikh Hamza, Research Library, Srinagar, See also No. 51 & 5.
64. *Farmān* of Shahjahān to Bano. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 299.
65. Research Library Srinagar Document No. 17 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 299.
66. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 304.
67. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 306.
68. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 306.

69. Mohammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 84a. Research Library Document No. 20. Income of some orchards and land was reserved for some renowned muslim establishments in Mecca, and Mashhad Sharif; Muhammad Aslam Mun'ami, *Gouhari Ālam*, p. 272; I.H. Qurashi, *The Mughal Administration*, pp suggests that a *Mutawali* was appointed in each *pargana*, but it is not supported by facts. It appears that each shrine had a separate *Mutawali* who managed the *waqaf*, etc.
- 70a. (i) Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-Kashmir*, p. 115.
(ii) Document No. 7 Research Library, K.U.
70. Research Library, Srinagar, No. 38.
71. See the grant documents preserved in Research Library, Srinagar Nos. 1,5,7,21,18,50,41. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 298-99.
72. Research Library, Srinagar, No. 18 and 20.
73. Research Library, Srinagar No. 29. Land grants assigned to ladies were termed as *musmiyati jagirs*.
74. Nawab Saif Khan, Subedar of Kashmir, at the time of *taṣṣihah* "periodical scrutiny" confiscated the land grant of Muhammad Murād a descendant of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. See document No. 51, Research Library, Srinagar.
75. Malik Haidar *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
Malik Haidar and Malik Ali had been exiled by Akbar after the annexation along with Yousf Shah Chak. At the time of the murder of Sher Afghan both Malik Ali and Malik Haidar won the sympathies of Mehrun-Nisa Begum by extending her a helping hand. Soon after her marriage with Jahangir. Malik Brothers were granted *Al Tamghā jāgīr* and *zamindāri* in the village, Chadoora. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 213a; *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, f. 210b.
76. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 115a-b. Āsaf Khān laid out Nishāt Bāgh in Kashmir. A canal which supplied water to the garden was granted in *Altamgha*.
77. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 312.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 568a.

CHAPTER : IV

ŞUBAHDĀR AND HIS FUNCTIONS

The administrative structure of the provincial Government comprised the offices of the Şubahdār, Kachēri Diwāni, Kachēri Dāroga, Bakhshi, Daftari-Istifsa, Waqīā Nawīs and Huzūr Nawīs, and Daftari-Khazāna.

Each office was run under the supervision of an office superintendent called Pēshkār. He was assisted by *muharirs*. Their number varied according to the work load.

The Kacheri of the Dāroga consisted of the following officials : (1) Dāroga, Pēshkār, Muharir-Waṣūli, Munshi Kachēri, Daftar Band and madadgār, the treasury also had a large para-farnalia. It was headed by an official called *khazinedār* and *khazānichi* or *Amīn*. He was assisted by a deputy known as *Madadgāri-Khazānichi*, besides a *dāroga*, *musharif khazānichi* and *Pēshkār*.

ŞUBAHDĀR AND HIS FUNCTIONS :

The Şubāhdar was vice-regent of the emperor;¹ and carried on the administration of the Şubah on his behalf in accordance with the rules and regulations set forth from time to time. His appointment was made under an imperial *farman* called *farmāni ṣabti*, in which directives, and guidelines were laid down.² There were no hard and fast rules prescribed for the appointment or the duration of the office. No doubt the resourcefulness and capability of the probable candidates was duly considered.³ The previous knowledge of the person about the Şubah and its affairs appears to have been taken also into consideration. In support of this proposition of a few examples may be cited. Most of the Şubahdār had served in Kashmir in one capacity or the other prior to their appointment. Mirza Ali Akbar was appointed Şubahdār in 1605-6.⁴ He had been to Kashmir in 1592 as a commander of *Ahadi* to deal with the Yādgār episode.⁵ In 1622 Hashim Khan was appointed Şubahdār of Kashmir. His father, Mohammed Qasim Khān, was formerly Şubahdār of Kashmir and Hāshim Khān accompanied him.^{5a} Similarly, Saif Khān⁶ was in Kashmir along with his father, Tarbiyat Khān, Şubahdār of Kashmir. Ibrāhīm Khān was also in Kashmir during the governorship of his father. Innaytullah Khan, son of Saif Khān had been in Kashmir for a very long time and was later appointed as Şubahdār of Kashmir.⁷

During the reign of Shahjahān, and Aurangzeb, we notice that the reappointments were frequent e.g. Zafar Khān Aḥsan was appointed by Shahjahan in August 1632 and again in the 21st regnal year, he was re-appointed by the same monarch.⁸

Ali Mardan Khān was appointed Subahdār in the 14th regnal year and was again elevated to the same post in 31st regnal year.⁹ During the reign of Augangzeb the reappointments were more frequent. Saif Khān was for the first time appointed in 7th regnal year, second time in 13th regnal year, while Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed firstly in 4th regnal year, second time in 21 R.Y., third time in 45 R.Y. and fourth time in 1709.¹⁰ Nawāzish Khān was given charge of the Subah for the first time in 1707, second time in 1709,¹¹ while Ināyatullah Khān remained in the office from 1711-12, second term during 1712-13, third term from 1717 to 1720, fourth term from 1724 to 25.¹²

Normally, the duration of the office did not exceed three to four years,¹³ During 1586-1707, 35 governors were appointed for a period of 122 years; holding the post for an average of 3-1/3 years.¹⁴ However, some of the Subahdars remained in the office for a period of one or two years, while some of them remained in the office for more than seven years. I'taqad Khan was appointed in 1622 and retained the office until 1632.¹⁵ Ali Mardān Khān was Subahdar for 11 years; Ibrāhīm Khān held the post for 13 years (8 and 5); Zafar Khān remained in office for 7 years.

In the matter of appointment the racial factor seems to have been of little consequence though on an analysis it may be inferred that the Irānis were predominant, followed by Tūrānīs. Only one Indian Muslim, Hafizullah Khān was conferred the job, and no non-Muslim was ever elevated to this office. Out of 35 Subahdārs, 23 were Irānis and only 12 Turānis. It is also peculiar to note that Subahdāri of Kashmir was never assigned to any prince except Murad, he too was removed within one year,¹⁶ while the Subahdāri of other provinces was frequently assigned to the princes.¹⁷

During the absence of the Subahdār, his duty was performed by his Nāib,¹⁸ who was nominated by the Subahdār himself subject to the imperial confirmation. From 1586 to 1707, the Subahdārs remained mostly in the Subah, while after 1707, they mostly stayed outside and occasionally visited the province of their posting.¹⁹

During brief durations of absence of the *Subahdārs*, *Dīwān* or *Ṣad'r* was given charge of the *Ṣubah*, while for longer periods a separate *manṣabdār* was given the charge.²⁰ The absence of the *ṣubahdār* and the rule by proxy led to the deterioration of the economy and administration, to which a crushing blow was given by the Afghans in 1752.²¹

At the time of appointment enormous presents were offered to the emperor, and the same process was repeated at the time of transfers and promotions. Costly gifts worth lakhs of rupees and comprising rarities of Kashmir were presented on such an occasion to the emperor.²² Dresses of honour, and gifts of scimitars and swords were bestowed upon *Ṣubahdār* designate.²³

At the time of his arrival in Kashmir, *manṣabdārs*, state officials, *zamindārs*, and respectable persons welcomed the *Ṣubahdār*. Saif *Khān*, Ibrāhīm *Khān*, and 'Alī Mardān *Khān*, directed the above mentioned officials and others to accord their warm welcome at Herapura.²⁴ Saif *Khān* was very keen about their presence. Subsequently, it became a convention, and every incumbent was warmly received.²⁵ The *Ṣubahdārs* on their part rewarded the nobles and men of learning.^{25 a}

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

As an administrative and executive head, the *Ṣubahdār* looked after all branches of revenue, police, military affairs, judiciary and general administration.²⁶ The Mughal emperor paid periodical visits to the *Ṣubah*. The *Ṣubahdār* used to receive the emperor at the outskirts of the *Ṣubah*, and at the time of departure accompanied him as far as the border of the *Ṣubah* to give him a befitting send-off.²⁷ He remained in the camp throughout the stay of the emperor and arranged food, fodder and transport facilities for the imperial camp. The roads, and inns were superbly equipped to meet the requirements of the emperor's comfort during the travel.²⁸ Feasts, festivities, illuminations and *jashns* were arranged.²⁹

Under the Sultans the kingdom of Kashmir in its heydays comprised the Little Tibet, Greater Tibet, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtawar, Rajouri and adjacent smaller principalities.³⁰ Subsequently, such far off regions fell apart from the Centre, but soon after the annexation of Kashmir in 1586, the Mughals followed an expansionist policy in all

directions. These expeditions were expedited and commanded by the *Ṣubahdārs*,³¹ occasionally helped and reinforced by the *Subahdārs* of contiguous provinces.³²

On the internal front the refractory *zamindārs*, and rebels were suppressed with a heavy hand; every step was taken to maintain law and order by the *Ṣubahdārs*.³³

The outposts were fully garrisoned with the soldiers and supervised by the *Ṣubahdār*.³⁴ The forts of Rajouri Noushahra,³⁵ Bijbehara,³⁶ and Tibet *Khurd*³⁷ were left in the charge of *thanedars*, who were under the direct control of the *Ṣubahdārs*.³⁸ Apparently, the *Subahdār* of Kashmir used to be the *Qilādār* of a Srinagar fort also.³⁹ It has been already pointed out that there was not separate post of Provincial *Foujdār* in Kashmir. The *Ṣubahdār* was in charge of military and police administration also. We can suggest that the *Foujdārs* of Marāz, Kamrāz, Punch, Pakhli and Noushahra, were his subordinates. The *Foujdār* of Noushahra, and Chakla Jammu was sometimes assigned to the *Ṣubahdār*.⁴⁰ He supervised the troops of the *mansabdārs* stationed in the *Ṣubah*.⁴¹ He used to rush contingents to the war-front whenever he received emperor's command to do so.⁴²

Thus the maintenance of peace both internal and external and the efficient running of the provincial administrative machinery was the prime responsibility of the *Ṣubahdār*.

The annual collection of the *pēshkash* from the autonomous chieftains and *zamindārs* was carried on by the *Ṣubahdār* and it was deposited in the provincial treasury.⁴³ The autonomous chieftains attended his Court very often and kept their respective *vakils* at the provincial Court.⁴⁴

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE :

As a matter of fact there was a separate department for the administration of justice, but the *Ṣubahdār* also held regular Courts and discharged the judicial functions.⁴⁵ Criminal and civil cases of complicated nature were mainly lodged in his Court. The cases pertaining to *Sabi-Ṣuhāba* were also mainly filed in his Court, but the decisions in such cases were given by the *Qāzi* and the *Mufti*.⁴⁶

In 1665 Sheikh Abdul Rashid filed a suit against Hussain Malik brother of Malik Haidar Chādoora in the Court of the *Ṣubahdār*.⁴⁷ Another suit was filed in the Court of Saif Khān by a Hindu against Khawāja. Ṣādiq Naqashbandi. After a summary trial the khawaja was flagged to death.⁴⁸ Another case against Abdu Shekoor was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhīm Khān. He was alleged to have used indecent words against the Caliphs.⁴⁹ One more case about a mosque of a village Ārwat was also filed in the Court of Ibrāhīm Khān.⁵⁰

Ṣubahdār was not entitled to overrule the decision of the *Qāzi*. In the case of Abdul Rashid cited above, the *Ṣubahdār* wanted to save Malik Husain, but the decision of the *Qāzi* was executed under the directions of the Emperor;⁵¹ again one *Rustum Māntoo* of Soibugh village was executed even against the consent of the *Ṣubahdār*.⁵²

However, the more enterprising and influential *Ṣubahdārs* encroached upon the power and authority of other officials by reducing the *Ṣad'r*, the *Qāzi*, the *Mufti*, and the *Kotwāl* to mere non-entities.⁵³ I'tamad Khan who was *Subahdar* during 1661-62, and Fāzil Khān were strict and impartial in the dispensation of justice. They decided cases daily after summary trails and enquiries.⁵⁴

SOCIAL SERVICE:

Existing concepts of social service and government departments apart, there was sufficient scope for works of public weal and common welfare in Mughal Kashmir, particularly under the stewardship of the *Subahdar*. The relief measures in the event of natural calamities like floods, famines, droughts, earthquakes, fires, and epidemics, were launched under the supervision of *Ṣubahdārs*. In support of our statement we can advance a few significant evidences too. In 1597, a terrible famine spread all over the *Ṣubah*.⁵⁵ Akbar directed the *Ṣubahdār* to open a large number of *langars* i.e. free kitchens. In 1635-36, a heavy flood inundated the entire rice fields in the months of July and August. With the result entire crop was damaged and thousands of people left Kashmir.⁵⁶ Huge amounts were released by the Emperor to the *Ṣubahdār* for relief measures.⁵⁷ Tarbiyat Khān did not discharge his duty efficiently while making disbursement of the relief funds. He was removed and Zafar Khān was appointed in his place.⁵⁸ He supervised the work in person and demanded additional grant of one lakh of rupees for the distribution among the peasants and to expedite the agricultural operations.⁵⁹

In 1675, thousands of houses along with Jamiā Masjid were gutted by the outbreak of a sudden fire. The *Ṣubahdār* was directed to advance one hundred rupees to each affected family.⁶⁰

SUBAHDĀR AND LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION :

In Chapter II, Section III, we discussed the functioning of the land revenue organisation. The *Dīwān* was the head of the revenue and finance departments.⁶¹ But the *madadi ma'āsh* grants were administered by the *Sad'r.*,⁶² the *Subahdār* as a matter of fact was a coordinator of various administrative divisions.

In regard to the position of the *Ṣubahdār* viz-a-viz the *Dīwān*, Jadunath Sarkār held the view that the *Dīwān* was in no way a subordinate official but a rival of the *Ṣubahdār*.⁶³ But a closer examination of the source material suggests a different inference. Undoubtedly the *Dīwān* was the head of revenue department but not a rival of *Ṣubahdār* and held a position next to the *Ṣubahdār* in the administrative hierarchy.⁶⁴ To quote a few instances based on original sources, would lead us to same conclusion. It is significant to note that a *Dīwān* was appointed as *Nāibi-i-Ṣubahdār* but not vice versa.⁶⁵ Secondly, the *manṣab* of any *Dīwān* did not exceed the *manṣab* of a *Ṣubahdār*. Thirdly, various reports and statements were submitted from the Court of *Dīwān* to the Court of the *Ṣubahdār*.⁶⁶ The *Jāgirdārs* and grand-holders presented their documents to the *Ṣubahdār* and the *Ṣubahdār* periodically checked and verified the *sanads*.⁶⁷ He recommended for further increase of the *manṣab*, decrease or cancellation of the grants and *Jāgirs* while we do not find such powers vested in the *Dīwān*. He was to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, take care to get more and more land under the plough, Dilāwar Khan 'Alī Mardān Khān, Saif Khān and Fāzil Khān took vigorous steps to improve the agrarian conditions.⁶⁸

Thus a *Ṣubahdār* had a supervisory control over land revenue administration as well.

As an administrative head, *Ṣubahdār* recommended and very often effected the appointments, promotions, transfers, within the *Ṣubah* and even the demotion and imprisonment of various petty officials.⁶⁹ He appointed the clerical staff in *parganas* or delegated his powers to the *'āmil*s.⁷⁰ At the time of promotions the experience and seniority of the officials was also kept in view,⁷¹ and no weightage was

given to racial or communal considerations. Almost entire the revenue and finance department was manned by the Hindūs. The prestigious posts of *Pēshkars* and *Chaudharis* were filled up by this community. *Ṭoṭa Rām*,⁷² *Mahadev Koul*,⁷³ *Sudharshan pandith*⁷⁴ and *Choudhuri Mahēsh*⁷⁵ were some of the famous officials of this category. Thus the multifarious duties and responsibilities of the *Ṣubahdār* may be fairly and elaborately detailed by a perusal of the papers and registers maintained by his Court and statements furnished by the lower offices. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, an administrative manual of 18th century gives us a detailed account of such documents.⁷⁶ The following papers and documents were submitted to his office :⁷⁷

1. Pargana-wise annual schedule of *Hāl-i-Hāṣil* by the *Dīwān*, (2) the pay schedule of the clerks, and accountants, descriptive rolls of the *maṇṣabadārs* stating transfers, promotions, and assignments from the *Bakhshi*, (3) the descriptive rolls regarding the grants, the periodical checking reports, new grant documents, and cancellation of previous grants from the office of the provincial *Ṣad'r*,⁷⁸ (4) the descriptive roll of *zamindārs* from the clerk incharge of *zamindārs* bearing the seal of *dārogha kachēri*, (5) the lists giving the details of income and expenditure regarding the state-owned *karkhānas* from the office of *Dīwāni Boyūlāt*, (6) the annual report furnishing the details about the income from *Mahāl Mīr Baḥarī*, (7) income statements of *Mahāli Dāmdāri*,⁷⁹ and *Mahāl Par-i-Kulang*⁸⁰ from the pargana *Qānūngo*, (9) the income and expenditure statements of the mint from *Musharif-i-Dar'ulḡarb*, (10) statement pertaining to jewellery market from the *Dāroga Bāzār*, (11) the *Hāl-i-Hāṣil* figures, of Saffron with the remarks regarding the cause of decrease in production if any from the *musharfi*, (12) *Hāl-i-Hāṣil* figures of *mahāl Singhāra*, (13) the rate lists of grains, vegetables and other articles from the office of the *Nirakh-Nawīs*, (14) information regarding the functioning of various courts from the *musharif*, (15) *Haqiqat Hāl-i-Hāṣil* of *In'ām* and *mashroot* land grants (16) the descriptive roll of the troopers and horses maintained by the *maṇṣabdārs* of the *Ṣubah*. (17) pargana-wise statistical information of the *Jam'a dāmi* of *jāgīrs*, *khalisa*, and the *pāibāqī* lands, (18) the expenditure accrued on *Nalujāt* submitted to the centre, (19) the demand list of *maṇṣabdārs*, (20) monthly collection and disbursement of revenue pargana wise from

the office of *Dīwān*.⁸¹ He looked after the administration of the river ports, state *kārkhāns*, mines, mints, markets, and such other things.

Keeping in view the wide range of the above mentioned statements and papers, we can safely infer that the *Ṣubahdār* controlled the executive, revenue, judicial, police and military administration as falling within his jurisdiction. He was to safeguard the interests of the state as well as of the subjects.

LIMITATIONS TO THE ṢUBAHDAR'S AUTHORITY AND IMPERIAL CHECKS :

We have mentioned above that the *Ṣubahdār* was governed by the rules and regulations set forth from time to time by the centre and did not enjoy unlimited power as is the contention of Vincent Smith.⁸² The *ṣubahdārs* were guided by certain norms and principles.^{82 a} The *Ṣubah* of Kashmir remained cut off from the rest of the Empire during winter-months, and as such a *Ṣubahdār* could have wielded unlimited power, but this was not the case. The maintenance of law and order internally was his prime duty, but he could not wage war, enter into a treaty or sue for peace without the imperial directive.⁸³ In September, 1637, *Ẓafar Khān* subdued Little Tibet, and installed *Muhammed Murād*, the *vakil* of *Abdāl* in his place. This act of audacity on the part of the *Subahdar* was resented to by *Shahjahān*, and the *Ṣubahdār* was reprimanded.⁸⁴ In A.D. 1672, the *Ṣubahdār* sought the permission from *Aurangzeb* to use force against the *raja* of *Kashtawār* who was reluctant to pay the annual *pēshkash*.⁸⁵

A net work of imperial spies, *Sawānih Nigārs*, *Khufiya Nawīs* and *Harkars* kept a close watch on the movements of the *Subah* officials.⁸⁶ Even minutest and trivial matters were reported to the Court. *Ibrahim Khān*⁸⁷ *Ṣaif Khān*,⁸⁸ and *Tarbiyat Khān*⁸⁹ were sacked on the basis of the reports submitted by the *Khufiya Nawīs*.

The periodical visits of the emperors provided ample opportunities to people to approach them to get their grievances redressed.⁸⁹ We should keep this in mind that the nobles and *mansab* holders owed allegiance to the emperors and as such were a natural check to the *Ṣubahdārs*. During 1587-88, one *Ṭoṭa Ram* lodged a complaint against *Yousf Khān Rizvi* in pursuance of which *Qāzi Āli* was appointed to investigate into the embezzlement case.⁹⁰ Similarly *Malik*

‘Ali and Malik Haidar, were always a threat to the *Ṣubahdārs*.⁹¹ Dilawar Khān, Ṣafdar Khān and Ahamad Beg Khān were transferred by Jahangir, because of complaints against them.⁹² I’taqād Khān and Tarbiyat Khān were removed by Shahjahān, and Ibrāhim Khān, Saif Khān, Muṣafar Khān, and Abū Naṣar Khān were transferred by Aurangzeb on the basis of complaints filed by the people.

In spite of checks and controls, some of the *Subahdārs* were to a greater extent oppressive and harsh.⁹³ I’taqād Khān imposed taxes on orchards, levied 60 dams on each village which yielded a revenue of 400 kharwārs or more, and an oppressive tax on boatmen was also enhanced by him,⁹⁴ but in 1632 Shahjahan remitted all these taxes.

Abū Naṣar Khān, and his brother, Muṣafar Khān imposed again several taxes on agriculturists, common people, and artisans.⁹⁵ They corrupted even the secret writers. The *Khufiya Nawīs* also tried to squeeze the common people. During the period of the later Mughals, the Nāib *Ṣubahdārs* also followed suit. It is significant that this state of affairs manifested itself only when the Central authority was on the decline and weakness and instability were rampant in the body-politic. From 1622 till the death of Jahāngir, Nūr Jahān's power had tremendously increased over the affairs of the empire, and there was none to check the atrocities of I’taqād Khān who was a close relative of Nur Jahan.⁹⁶ Similarly, Aurangzeb's presence in the Deccan adversely affected the administrative machinery in the North which roused the venality and corruption of the *Ṣubahdārs*.

1. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 450b, 451a-b.
A' in, II, pp. 223-25.
Diwan Pasand, p. 30621; f. 86
2. *Diwan Pasand*, p. 30621, f. 86
p. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 176
3. *Nigār Nama Munshī*, f. 20
Dastūrul-Amali Shahjahāni, 653/71,
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU.,
Aligarh, f. 180.
4. Mirza Ali Beg was resident of Badakhshān. He came to India and was given a *mansab* of 500 A' in, I, 163 (N.K.), Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul-Umarā*, f. 194. In 46 R.Y. he was given a *mansab* of 2000, and in 1605-6, Jahangir raised his *mansab* to 4000, *Tuzuk*, II, and appointed him *Subahdār* of Kashmir in 1015/1605, *Tuzuk*, p. 35 Kewal Rām *Tazkiratul-Umarā*, f. 194,

Ma'āsirul-Umarā, III, pp. 355-56. He died in 1616, *Bahāristāni-Shāhi*, ff. 207a-3b. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 118. *Tārikh-i-Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 47, and *Gouhari-Ālam*, p. 253, have wrongly mentioned his date of Appointment 1013H/1604-5, and according to Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul Fuqarā*, f. 77a, 1014/1605-6. *Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri*, III, p. 516.

5. See Chapter I, Section I.

5a. *Tuzuk*, p. 97.

6. Saif-ud-Din Mahmūd alias Faqirullah was son of Tarbiyat Khān, Ma'āsirul Umarā, I, pp. 486-87. In his 30th regnal year, Shahjahan appointed him Superintendent of Qūr-Khānā with the rank of 700/100. On account of his role against Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb raised his mansab to 1500/700 and granted him the title of Saif-Khān. In June, 1661, he was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir, Muhammad Kāzim, *Ālamgir Nama*, p. 832. In the 9th regnal year, he was appointed Subahdar of Multan, in 14th, R.Y. again appointed Subahdar of Kashmir. During his visit in 1663-4, he was rewarded for having defeated Murad Khan of Askardu, *Tarikh-i-Ālamgiri*, ff. 53-54. Ma'āsir-i-Ālamgiri, (Sarkar's Translation), p. 34. Ma'āsirul Umarā, II, p. 482. For details of his biography, see Ma'āsirul Umarā, II, pp. 479-485.

7. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 211.

8. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 432.

Zafar Khān Ahsan was son of Abul Hasan; in 1632 Abul Hasan was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir, Lahori, *Badshāh, Nāmā I*, p. 432, and Zafar Khān acted as his Naib. After his death, he was appointed Subahdar of Kashmir in March 1633. Lahori, *Badshah Nāmā*, I, p. 474. In 1642, he was again appointed replacing Tarbiyat Khān, *Badshah Nāmā*, II, pp. 282-3. His mansab was increased to 3000/1500, Ma'āsirul-Umarā, II, p. 763, but he was removed in 1645 from Subahdārī because of his unjust attitude towards Sunnis, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, p. 191, for his detailed biography, see Ma'āsirul-Umarā, II, pp. 756-763.

9. Āli Mardan Khan was son of Ganj Āli Khān an old servant of Shah Abbās I. After the death of his father, he was given the title of Baba-Sani and appointed him governor of Qandahar. After the death of Shah Abbās II, Shah Safi did not favour the nobles of Shah Abbas. Āli Mardan Khan approached Shahjahan and surrendered the fort to him, Ma'āsirul-Umarā, II, pp. 795-806. In absentia he was granted a mansab of 5000/z.s. in April, 1639 as a token of reward, Kumbū, *Āmali Sālih*, II, p. 289. Meanwhile, he proceeded to Lahore, and Mu'tamad Khān, Mir Bakshi and Tarbiyat Khān delivered him to the Court. The same year as a token of reward, Kashmir, was assigned to him, and Zafar Khān was transferred, Kumbū, *Āmali Sālih*, II, p. 298. *Dastūrāt-Āmali Shahjahānī*, 673/51, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, ff. 180-3. In October 1640, his mansab was further increased to 7000/7000 and Punjab was also assigned to him. Lahori, *Badshah Nāmā*, II, p. 163. In 1641, he was given 7000/7000 out of it 3000x2hx3 horse. In March 1655, he was again appointed as a Subahdar of Kashmir, and held the post for seven years, *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 140-1.

10. *Supra* f.n. 6.

11. Nawāzish Khān Mukhtār Beg, son of Islām Khān Roomi was given a mansab of 1000 in 19 R.Y. by Aurangzeb, and in 24th he was given the title of Nawāzish Khān and raised to the Foujdari of Mandou in 24th R.Y. in 49 R.Y. his mansab was increased to 1000, Kewal Rām, *Tazkirat-ul-Umarā*, f. 163, Ma'āsirul-Umarā, I, pp. 246-47.

12. *Ma'āsirul Umarā*, II, pp. 828-32, for his detailed life history.
13. *Gouhari 'Ālam*, p. 269. p. Saran, *Provincial Government under the Mughals*, p. 177
14. See Appendix '8'.
15. I'taqād Khān was son of I'tamad-ud-Duala. He was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir in 17th R.Y. *Tuzuk*, p. 348; *Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri*, III, p. 580, and remained in the office till August 1632, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 432. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in putting his date of transfer 1634, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 303n. He won the bad name in Kashmir for imposing oppressive tax on the peasants, orchard owners and even boatmen. See Inscription on the gate Jamia, Masjid, Srinagar, *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 125; *Gouhari 'Ālam*, p. 261.
16. Murād Bakhsh was appointed in 1647 and transferred in February, 1648. Wāris, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, f. 6, *Tārikh-i-Shahjāhāni*, f. 149a. Author of *Gouhari 'Ālam*, f. 289, has wrongly mentioned the date of his appointment 1051H/1641-42. See also Dr. M. Athar Ali's article, "Provincial Governors under Shahjahan", pp. 80-92, *Medieval India-A. Miscellany*, III, p. 86., and Mohammad Murād, *Tuhfatul Fuqarā*, f. 81a-b.
17. Dr. M. Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan' *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, III, pp. 80-92.
18. Ibid.
See also Appendix 'B'.
19. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 399-400.
20. See Chapter II, Section III.
Ali Mardan was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Kashmir and Kabul. He designated Abdul Gani Beg, one of his relatives, as *Nāib-i-Ṣubah*,
During 1707 to 1752, every *Ṣubahdār* nominated his deputy, who carried on the administration on behalf of the *Subahdar*. See R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule*, etc. pp. 333-338.
I.H. Qurashi is not correct in his statement that the provincial governorship was assigned to *Nāib* only in case the Prince was a minor, *Mughal Administration*, etc. pp. 228-29.
During the period 1709 to 1752, more than 25 *Nāibs* were appointed while the number of *Ṣubahdārs* did not exceed 20. See Appendix 'B'.
21. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-ul-Tawārikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 195a-b.
22. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, pp. 229, 448; II, pp. 163, 165, 48.
23. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, pp. 432; II, pp. 130, 133, 223, 149, 415, 420.
Kumbu, *Amali Ṣālih*, II, p. 457
Wāris, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, f. 138; II, ff. 292, 327.
Muhammed Kaẓim, *Ālamgir-nāmā*, 832, 965.
Adābi-Alamgiri, f. 247b.
24. Muhammed Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 87b.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Gouhari 'Ālam, p. 286.
Ameerud Din, Pakhliwal, *Tahqeeqat-i-Ameeri*, f. 169a.
25. *Rug'āl*, Acc. No 2776, f. 15. (Research Library, Srinagar).
- 25a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 453a.

26. *Hidāyatul Qawā'id*, f. 42a.
Diwān Pasand, ff. 85-7.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 536-37a.
Hālāt-i-Momālīk-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-6.
27. *A.N.*, III, p. 564, *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Iqbāl Nama, III, p. 580.
Lahori, Bādshah Nama, pp. 17, 191.
Tarikh-i-Ālamgiri, ff. 53a-54b.
28. Faizi, *Akbar Nāmā*; f. 242a.
Lahori, Bādshah Nāmā, II, pp. 20, 419.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 140-41.
Birbal Kachroo, Majmu-ut-Tawārikh, f. 147b.
Bernier, Travels in Mughal India, p. 395.
29. Sadiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahan-wa-Ālamgiri*, p. 131b.
30. See Chapter I, Section II.
31. *Ibid.*
Gouhari Ālam, pp. 294-99.
Lahori, Bādshah Nāmā, II, p. 93.
32. During the Tibet campaign a contingent from Kabul was diverted to Kashmir, *A.N.*, III, p. 823. Similarly, Mohamad Amin Khān, *Shubahdār* of Lahore, was directed to arrest the chieftain of Kashtawar in case he was reluctant to pay the tribute, "Akhbārāt 13th R.Y." See also "Akhbārāt 46 R.Y."
33. *Bahārīstan-i-Shahi*, f. 205a.
Iqbal Nama, Vol II, p. 452
"Akhbārāt 46th R.Y."
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government & Administration*, P. 239.
34. Faizi, *Akbar Nāmā*, ff. 238b-39a, *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Hashmatullah, Khan, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.
Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, pp. 685-6.
35. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Kumbu, *Amali Sālīh*, II, p. 15.
Inshāi Har Karan, f. 17
Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.
Insha Collection, Acc. No 2675, ff. 28-29.
Research Library, Srinagar.
36. Faizi, *Akbar, Nāmā*, ff. 238-b-39a.
Desidari, *Travels* (tr. Fillipo di Fillipi), p. 75.
37. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tārikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.
38. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
39. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52n.
Mohammad Din Fouq, *Safar Nāmā Kashmir*, p. 64.

40. *Raja Darshani*, f. 185.
Ṣafdar Khān was appointed *Fōujdār* of Jammu also
 by Jahāngir. Hafizullah Khān was appointed also *Foujdār* of Jammu,
 "AKhbārāt, 33 R.Y."
Ruga'āl, a collection of letters of the reign of Aurangzeb preserved in S.P.S
 Museum, Srinagar, f. 45a.
41. "AKhbārāt, 43 and 47 R.Y."
Wāqīāt-i-Asad Bēgi, f. 7a.
 S.R. Sharma, *Mughal, Government & Administration*, p. 238.
 P. Saran, *Provincial Administration*, p. 187.
42. Mohamad Ṣādiq, *Tārīkh-i-Shahjahāni-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 197b.
Wāqīāt-i-Asad Bēgi, f. 7a.
 S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government & Administration*, p. 238.
43. "AKhbārāt, Muharam, 13th R.Y."
 J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52.
 S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government & Administration*, p. 239.
44. "AKhbārāt, 12 Rabi I, 43 R.Y.," *Rajab* 46th R.Y.
45. *Lahori Badshah Nama*, I, p. 139.
 Muhammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 85b, 91a.
 S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government & Administration*, p. 239.
 P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 185.
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 269, 284,
 The statement of I.H. Qurashi that the Governor was not allowed to intervene in the
 administration of justice is not born out by facts; *The Administration of Mughal
 Empire in India*, p. 229.
46. Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-fuqarā*, ff. 91-2.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
47. Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-fuqarā*, ff. 91-2.
48. Muhammad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-fuqarā*, f. 87b.
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 286-7.
49. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 291-2.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
50. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 284-5.
51. Mohammad Muṭad Tang, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*; ff. 63b, 88b.
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 287-8.
52. Mohammad Murad Tang, *Tuhfatul-Fuqara*; ff. 98-98b.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 284.
53. *Gouhar-i-Kashmir*, p. 284
 Mohammad Murad Tang, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*; f. 85b.
54. *Gouhar-i-Ālam* p. 284.
 J.Xavier,, letter translated by Hostan in J.A.S.B. Vol 23 (N.S.) 1927," pp. 115-16.
55. *A.N. III*, p. 727. *Iqbāl Nama*, II, pp. 453-4. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 166.

56. Lahori, *Badshah Nāma*, II, pp. 309-10. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, 328-29. Sadiq Khān, *Tārikh-i-Shahjahani-wa-Ālamgiri*, f. 53a. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 140.
57. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 309-10
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
 Kumbu, *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 360.
58. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 282-3.
 Mohamad Murād Tang, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 81b.
59. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 309-10.
60. Khalil Mirjanpūri, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 106b.
61. See Chapter II, Section III,
 See P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 189
62. See Chapter II, Section IV.
63. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 53.
64. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 53.
 P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 190-91
65. P. Saran observes that the *Ṣubahdār* and *Diwān* were official of equal rank and very rarely a *Diwān* was appointed as a *Ṣubahdār*, p. 182, but on pages 195-96, he states that *Diwān* was not equal to the status of *Ṣubahdār* but inferior to him. *Provincial Administration under the Mughals*, pp. 181-82; *Gouhar-i-Alam*, p. 299.
66. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 537a-b.
Hālāt-i-Mamālik-i-Mahrūsa, ff. 144-45.
67. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 164.
 Various land grant documents preserved in the Research Library, Srinagar, and S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, bear the seals of the *Subahdars*.
 See also Chapter II, Section IV.
68. "Akhbārāt, 44 Regnal Year."
Dīwān Pasand, f. 92.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 307b-8a
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 271, 289,
 Muhammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 81, 87.
 Ameeruddin, Pakhliwal, *Tahqeeqat-i-Ameeri*, f. 169a;
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
 Abdul Qādir Jaisi, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, ff. 51a-b.
 Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 52.
69. "Akhbārāt, Rabi I, 43 and 46 R.Y."
 Fāzil Khān's recommendations for the grant of *mansabs* to Kashmiris. See "Akhbārāt, Rab. I, 43 R.Y."
 Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 49
70. Muhammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 99a.
Diwān Pasand, ff. 86-92.
 P. Saran, *Provincial Government under the Mughals*, p. 178.
71. *Diwān Pasand*, f. 92.
72. Tōṭa Rām was *Peshkar* of Yousf Khān Rizvi
A.K., III, pp. 617-18.

73. Mahadev Koul was *Peshkāṛ* of 'Ali Mardān Khān. He was burnt alive during a food riot. On this occasion, Muhammad Yousf Kāwoosa Ṣad'r Suba Kashmir and other nobles were summoned to Court to explain their position.
74. Sudharshan Pandit was *Peshkāṛ* of 'Anayatullah Khān.
75. Choudhari Mahēsh was *Choudhari Kul* during the reign of Aurangzeb. Birbal Kachroo, *Majmu-ut-Tawārikh*, f. 417a Document No 31, Research Library, Srinagar. See also Lawrance, *Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 401-3.
76. Nath Panditt, *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 536a-37b. See also *Halat-i-Mamālik-i-Mahrūsa*, ff. 144-45.
77. *Gulshan-i-Datūr*, f. 536a.
78. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536b.
79. Kashmiri fowlers earned a great deal of money from bird catching especially during the winter months. A tax was imposed on them, A'in, II, p. 175.
80. The coloured feathers of okar and other birds were collected from the bird sancturies of Matal Hāmā and were purchased by the state for decoration of headgears and imperial standards. Mainly feathers of cranes and fowls were collected. A'in, II, p. 174 (N.K.). Approximately 10700 feathers were collected annually. *Tuzuk*, p. 315. This village is not identified. It should be perhaps Hoker Sar, which is still famous for duck shooting.
81. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 536b.
82. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogol*, p. 380. See for a contrary viewpoint, Forster, *From Bengal to India by Sea*, II, p. 26.
- 82a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 34a.
83. P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 188. S.R. Sharma contradicts his own statement that "He put down local rebellions, carried out minor military operations on his own in the provinces or the neighbouring areas." In this very passage that "He could not make war on a feudatory state in the province or an independent prince in the neighbourhood without the premission of the Emperor." *Mughal Government and Provincial Administration*, p. 239.
84. Lahori, *Bādshahnāma*, II, p. 286. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 316. has wrongly mentioned the date of conquest 1632 Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 286. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, III p. 262.
85. "Akḥbārāt, Muḥaram, 13th R.Y."
86. *Ruqāt-i-Ālamgiri*, 655. Sulaiman Collection, AMU, f. 127a. *Ruqāt-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 31 "letter No 116", ed. M.A. Rahman, Kanpur. Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 287-8, 293, "Akḥbārāt, 45 R.Y. 'Anāyat Khan. *Ahkāmi-Ālamgiri*, p. 211.
87. Ṣādiq Khān, *Tārikḥ-i-Shahjahānī*, i. 45b.

88. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 116
Abdul Qādir Jaisi, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 51a.
Ṣādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni*, f. 98a.
Kumbu, *Amli-i-Ṣālih*, II, pp. 360-61
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 140.
89. *Tuzuk*, p. 149.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 211b.
90. *A.N. III*, 617-18.
91. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
92. *Tuzuk*, p. 149.
Bahāristān-i-Shāhi, f. 212a.
Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 215a, 216b, 217a.
93. Suka, *Raja Tarangini*, (tr. R.C. Dutt), p. 424. states the atrocities of the servants of Yousf Khān Rīzvi done to the common people. Mirza Ali Akbar Shāhi during his Ṣubahdārī was not less oppressive, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 211b.
Ali Mardān Khān himself was an ideal Ṣubahdār but his Ūzbek and Tūrāni servants were very cruel and behaved just like brutes, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 141.
Gouhari-Ālam, p. 273.
94. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, II, ff. 267-68.
See "the inscription on the gate of Jamia 'Masjid, Srinagar."
95. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 189.
96. Beni Prasad. *History of Jahangir*, pp. 171-84.
For the political power of Nūr Jahān after 1622. see Nūr Jahān and Junta, S. Nūral Hasan, "Cyclostyled article in the Research Library, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh."
For details on Kashmir under the later Mughals, see article of Dr. Z.U. Malik, "The Ṣubah of Kashmir under the later Mughals, Miscellany, Vol II, pp. 249-263.
For a general study of the period, see Irwin Later Mughals and J.N. Sarkar, *Downfall of the Mughal Empire*, also.

Note : List of Subahdars on Appendix I

CHAPTER : V

JUDICIAL AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION

JUDICIARY

The Mughal annexation of Kashmir ushered in significant changes in the various spheres of the administrative set up of the *Ṣubah* but the judicial administration was retained substantially on the traditional lines. As a matter of fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, had practically paved the way for the introduction of Islamic Institutions like *Shaikhul-Islām*, *Qāzi*, *Mīr'adl* and the like long before the Mughal conquest.¹ But it was during the Mughal period that institution of the *Shaikhul-Islām* lost its significance and its place was taken by the provincial *Qāzi*.²

Before 1586, the *Qāziul-Quzāt* appointed the *Qāzis* of the *parganas* and towns. *Mir-a'dl* was appointed in Srinagar, the capital city, and he functioned as a semi-judicial officer and a deputy of the *Qāzi-ul-Quzāt*.³

The bulk of population were followers of the *Hanafīā* school and were governed by its laws.⁴

The Mughal annexation, virtually did not effect the working of the system. As a matter of fact, the governing principles were of the same *shari'at* law^{4a} and so the legal aspect of the judiciary was identical under the Mughals as before. Yet regional usage and traditional values did influence the system to an appreciable extent.

The judiciary during our period was not alienated from the executive. Theoretically the basic and primary duty of the ruler and his agents was to save the subject from the clutches of the oppressors.⁵ Therefore, each official right from the *Ṣubahdār* down to the petty *pargana*h official were spised to administer justice together with their executive responsibilities, and numerous examples can be cited to substantiate these assertions.

The judicial powers of the *Ṣubahdār* have been already discussed in the previous chapter. He was both an administrative head and a chief judicial officer within the *Ṣubah*.⁶

The jurisdiction of the *Dīwān* was essentially limited to the revenue cases.⁷

THE QĀZĪ

In the judicial administration the institution of Qāzī was of considerable importance, and the Qāzī played a significant role in the provincial administration though his importance decreased during the Mughal rule.⁸ Still the Qāzī occupied third place in the administrative hierarchy after the *Ṣubahdār* and the *Dīwān*.⁹

There were no hard and fast rules for the appointment of the Qāzī.¹⁰ The family background, the academic qualifications and keen intellect were kept in view at the time of his appointment. Qāzī Muhammad Ṣālih, son of Qāzī Moosā, was appointed by Akbar soon after annexation.¹¹ Qāzī Ṣālih was succeeded by Qāzī Abul Qāzīm. He was recommended by Qāzī for this post.¹² He was replaced by Qāzī Abdullah Zahgīr. His appointment was also made on account of intelligence and ready-wit.¹³ After his death, Qāzī Abul Qāzīm, son of Qāzī Mulla Muhammad Razā, was appointed on the basis of his qualification;¹⁴ Qāzī Muhammad Muḥsin also was appointed on this post on account of his family background. He was a relative of Qāzī Abul Qāzīm.¹⁵

There were no rules fixed for the duration of the office. It depended upon the integrity and re-sourcefulness of the person. Qāzī Abdul Karīm held the post of Qāzī for twenty four years during the reign of Aurangzēb,¹⁶ while some of the Qāzīs were removed after a couple of years only.

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES :

Abul Faḥl had laid down the following directives to be followed by the Qāzī, in the chapter *A'in-i-Mir'adl wa—Qāzī*.¹⁷ "Though it is the immediate duty of a monarch to receive complaints and dispense justice, yet it is not possible for one person to do everything, so the King delegated his powers to some other."¹⁸ Thus obviously he was to administer justice and redress the grievances of the oppressed.

A code of justice in consonance with the ideals of Akbar was prepared and the Qāzīs were to administer justice and investigate the cases according to the same procedure.

The Qāzī should not decide the cases barely on the basis of oaths and the statements of the witnesses or on the production of an undertaking. He should apply his intellect and wisdom and take all the

facts into consideration to his utmost satisfaction; he should himself pronounce the judgement.¹⁹ There are some evidences when the *Qāzis* imposed fines on the culprits, and capital punishments were also imposed by the *Qāzis* without the confirmation of *Subahdār*. In 10 Hijri a case of reproach and abuse on the companion of prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) was filed by a group of Sunni Muslims against a Shi'a fanatic. The *Qāzi* recorded the witness and the guilty was given capital punishment.^{19a}

The charity grants were also distributed through the *Qāzi* among the *ulama* and needy people.²⁰

APPOINTMENT AND QUALIFICATIONS:

A *Qāzi* should possess all the best qualities of a judge. He should be well-versed in the Islamic jurisprudence. Honesty and integrity should be the aim of his life. He should refrain from mixing with the common people, should not accept the invitation of all and sundry, and in no case should accept the presents, etc. from any person.²¹

The *Qāzi* held his Court five days a week, attended the Court of the *Subahdār* once a week but Friday was observed as a holiday.²² There was no territorial or executive jurisdiction of the Courts in the modern sense of the term. So there was nothing to prevent anyone to approach the *Qāzi's* Court.²³ There were *Qāzis* in each *parganah* and the town. The village *Qāzi* led the prayers, and attended the *Nikāh* ceremonies. He was a teacher and some of them issued decrees to the villagers. *Qāzi* of Sopore was of considerable importance. During the reign of Aurangzēb, a *Qāzi* was appointed for Kashtawār as well.²⁵

Complicated cases were usually filed in his court, while cases of ordinary nature were decided in the Courts of the *Kotwāl* and the *thānedārs*.²⁶ Several categories of cases were disposed after summary trials, so no written proceedings of them were maintained.²⁷ Moreover, judicial proceedings and details of adjudication in respect of civil and criminal cases are not traceable while such details are available from the records pertaining to the *Subahs* of Ajmer, Deccan, etc. which perhaps may be explained in view of devastation caused by the Afghan and the Sikh invasions of Kashmir in which many records perished, therefore, the exact definition of the powers, functions and jurisdiction of the *Qāzis'* office becomes problematic.

The appointment of the provincial *Qāẓi* was also made by the emperor in his discretion without any recommendation of the *Ṣubahdār* or *Qāẓi-ul-Quzāt*.²⁸ He was given a high *manṣab* and sufficient *madadi-ma'āsh* grant so as to keep him free from all financial burdens. Cash awards were also given to them.²⁹

Qāẓi was assisted by the *Mufti* and *Mir'adl*. Some times, a *Na'ib-i-Qāẓi* was also appointed by *Qāẓi*.³⁰

The secular type cases of Hindus and Muslims were also decided by the *Qāẓi*. But the suits pertaining to the personal law were decided according to the ways and methods sanctioned by the religious precepts followed by litigants. In 1586, an order was passed that the cases of Hindus should be decided by the Pandiths and not by *Qāẓis*.³¹ Jahangir appointed Srikanth as a "*Qāẓi* of Hindus,"³² but evidence of any other Pandith appointed after the death of Srikanth is lacking

MUFTI

Mufti was not an official, but it appears the *Qāẓi* sought the advice of learned theologians in order to settle the complicated cases.³³ We do not find any evidence of the appointment of *Mufti*. There were usually more than one *Muftis* in the city of Srinagar alone.³⁴ The *Mufti* was simply one who elucidated or expounded a law point;³⁵ and his advice was sought on certain occasions only.³⁶ This institution had become hereditary in nature,³⁷ and the senior member was called *Mufti 'Aẓam*.³⁸ Even the expert theologians and scholars could issue *Futwā* (legal pronouncement).³⁹ The people approached them to seek their advice in order to know what is lawful and what is unlawful.⁴⁰

Some of the famous *Muftis* who rose to the prominence were Mulla Yousf Chachak,⁴¹ Mulla Razāk,⁴² Mulla Muhammad Ṭāhir,⁴³ Mulla Sheikh Ahmad,⁴⁴ Mulla Muhammad Ashraf⁴⁵ and Muhammad Murād Naqashbandi.⁴⁶

MIR'ADL

This institution was also introduced in Kashmir by the Sultans.⁴⁷ *Mir'adl* was appointed by the *Qāẓi*, and he tabled the cases which were filed in the Court of *Qāẓi*.⁴⁸

The assertion of P. Saran regarding the post of *Mir'adl* is, that the post was combined with that of the *Qāẓi* and there was no such independent institution.⁴⁹ In support of his thesis, he puts forth the following arguments that in 41st regnal year of Akbar, the Empire was divided into twelve provinces, and the following officers were appointed in each province :

1. *Sipah Sālār*
2. *Dīwān*
3. *Bakhshi*
4. *Mir'adl*
5. *Ṣadr*
6. *Kōtwāl*
7. *Mir Baḥr*
8. *Waḳīā Navīs*

Since there is no mention of a *Qāẓi*, so it can be conjectured that the *Mir'adl*, and *Qāẓi* represented the same institution.⁵⁰ Furthermore, he assumes that the office of the *Ṣadr* and *Qāẓi* were not separate, but only one and the same office.⁵¹

But both of his assertions are not supported by facts. In fact Abul Fazl explicitly has laid down the rules and instructions for *Qāẓi* and *Mir'adl* separately,⁵² and again evidence of *Dāstūrul 'Amal-i-Ālamgiri* also negates his assertion. It is further weakened by the available contemporary information about these institutions especially in this *Ṣubah*. An administrative manual explicitly treats the institutions of the *Qāẓi*, *Mir'adl* and *Mufti* separately.⁵³ According to this manual the *Mir'adl* was to investigate and dispose of cases which were filed in his Court. In case there was some difficulty, he should refer the case to the *Qāẓi*.⁵⁴ The institution of *Ṣadr* was a separate institution and had distinct functions.⁵⁵ It was not necessary that the same person should be the *Ṣadr* and *Qāẓi*. There are so many examples to illustrate it further.

Qāẓi Ṣaleḥ was appointed *Qāẓi* of Kashmir by Akbar soon after annexation and Mullah *Ḥabīb* was *Mir'adl* during this period.⁵⁶ During the reign of Shah jahān, *Qāẓi Ābdu'llah* was *Qāẓi* of *Ṣubah*, and Mulla *Ha ji Bandey* was *Mir'adl* and Mulla *Muhammad Tāhir* was holding the post of *Ṣadr*.⁵⁷ Thus it is obvious that the *Ṣadr*, *Qāẓi* and *Mir'adl* were three separate institutions. However, sometimes, the same person was appointed as *Qāẓi* and *Mufti* or *Qāẓi* and *Mir'adl*.⁵⁸

1. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 159b, 160a.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 2001, 207.
2. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 207.
3. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 159b-60a.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 200-1.
4. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi* (tr. N. Elias), p. 436
- 4a. *Khawāriq-Sālikīn*, f. 111a.
5. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 308-309.
6. See Chapter IV
7. See Chapter II, Section, IV.
8. See *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 2001-1, Mohibbul Hasan, for the Qāzi during the Sultanate period.
9. (i) In 1096 A.H. a sectarian fued burst out between Shi'as and Sunnis. The Sunnis approached Qāzi Maulana Mohd Yousf for the redressal of their grievances. The Qazi inspite of pressure from the *Subahdar* supported the aggrieved party; and the *Subahdar* had no alternative but to yield, *Khawarikh-Salikin*, f. 131b.
(ii) Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'Institution of Qāzi under the Mughals', *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 1-20.
10. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 310-12.
11. Qāzi Moosa was Qāzi during the reign of Yousf Shah Chak. His son, Yāqūb Chak, put him to death on account of his refusal to include the name of Ali in prayer call. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* f. 195a-b.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 123.
12. Qāzi Abul Qāsim was son of Qāzi Jamāl Syāl-Koti. He was a famous saint and scholar of his time. Qazi Salih was the tutor of Abul Qāsim also.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 134, 148-50.
13. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 148-9
14. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.
Gouhari-i-'Alam, p. 289
15. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 192.
16. Qāzi Abdul Karim was relative of Maulana Muhammad Yousf Kawoosa. He was a pupil of Maulvi Abul Fateh Kaloo. After the transfer of Muhammad Yousf, he was appointed the Qāzi, and remained in the office till the last years of the Aurangzeb-b's reign.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 215.
17. *A'in*, (N.K.) I, p. 197.
18. *A'in*, I, (N.K.), p. 197.
See also *The Administration of Justice*, Muhammad Akbar, p. 15, Lahore, 1948.
19. *A'in*, I, (N.K.), p. 197.
- 19a. *Khawāriq-Sālikīn*, f. 132a.
20. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 250.
21. Hidayatullah Bihari, *Hidāyitūl-Qawā'id*, f. 115a.

22. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, p. 174.
23. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 99.
24. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 135; Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 296.
25. Hashmatullah Khān, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 214.
26. P. Saran *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 231-2.
27. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 95.
28. P. Saran, *Provincial Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 231-33. See for detailed and the contrary views the article of Zameeruddin Siddiqi, 'The Institution of Qāzi under the Mughals', *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, pp. 1-20. The assertion of Jadunath Sarkar that the provincial Qāzi was appointed by the Qāzi-ul-Quzāt, *Mughal Administration*, p. 96, is not supported by the facts. The appointments stated above were made by the emperors, and not by the Qāzi-ul-Quzāt, and we don't possess any evidence of the recommendations of Qāzi-ul-Quzāt even.
29. Wāriṣ, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, f. 272.
30. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 211.
31. P. Saran *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 375.
32. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, pp. 194-95.
33. P. Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 345-46. Mufti was called also Vakil-i-Shara, *Akhbārāt*, 46 Regnal Year.
34. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168, 189, Document.
35. Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 92.
36. Ibnī Hasan states that the presence of a Mufti was not essential if Qāzi was well qualified. Ibnī Hasan, *Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, pp. 314-15.
37. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 189, 222. Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 83a.
38. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 243.
39. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 296.
40. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 187. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 296.
41. Mulla Yousf Chachak was a disciple of Khwāja Khāwand Mahmood and Mulla Fāzil, and Mulla Abdul Razak were his contemporaries, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 148.
42. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 169, 189.
43. Ibid.
44. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168.
45. *Akhbārāt*, 46 R.Y.
46. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 222-223.
47. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 159b, 160a.
48. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 200-1. I.H. Qureshi, assumes that Mir'adl was appointed in most important cities, is not supported by facts. *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 191.

49. P. Saran *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 348-50.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *A'in, I*, (N.K.), p. 197.
See also Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 322.
53. *Dastūrul Āmal-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 6599, f. 38
54. *Ibid.*
55. See Chapter II, Section IV
56. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 134, Qāzi Ṣālih was son of Qāzi Moosā who was assassinated by Yāqūq Chak in 1586 A.D. Qāzi Ṣālih died in 1002 A.H. *Tarikh-i-Aqwami-Kashmir*, Munshi Moh'd Din Fouq, Vol I, 1934 Lahore p. 229 and A.N.
57. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168-189.
58. Muhammad Ashraf was *Mufti* as well as *Ṣadrin* 46th R.Y. of Aurangzeb. He held the *mansab* of *Amīn Jaziya* also. *Akhbārāt*, 46 R.Y. During 1727-1729, Maulana Inayatullāh was serving as *Mir'adl* and *Dāroga Ādālat* as well.

II. POLICE & MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

FAUJDAR AND HIS FUNCTIONS:

The protection of life and property of the subjects was equally important for the peace, tranquility, and the stability of the state. Therefore, every effort was made to have a close watch over the law and order situation both internally and externally. The vassal chieftains were responsible to maintain peace within their territory. The entire area under the direct administration of the *Ṣubahdār* was divided into a number of divisions and each division was entrusted to an official known as *faujdār*.¹ These territorial *faujdar*s were subordinate to the *Ṣubahdār*. The territorial limits of a *faujdārī* varied from place to place.² Some of the *faujdārīs* stretched over a *pargana* as *pargana* Dachan and Khawarpārā, and Davra-wa-Karnave, while in some cases, *faujdārī* limits extended over a few *parganas* like *faujdārī* Kamrāj.³ There were sixteen *parganas* in Kamrāj division.⁴ Ra jouri, Noushahra, and Bhimber were separate *faujdārīs*, but sometimes, all the three *faujdārīs* were assigned to one official.⁵ The *faujdar*s of Ra jouri and Noushahra, used to be officials of high rank, while the rest of them were of lower ranks.⁶

The *Ṣubah* of Kashmir comprised five divisions viz., Kashmir, Punch, Pakhli, Kashtawar, Little Tibet, and Greater Tibet.⁷ The number of *parganas* increased from 38 to 56 during this period.⁸ It was divided into the following *faujdārīs*—Kamrāj,⁹ Mara j,¹⁰ Darva-wa Karnāve¹¹ Ra jouri,¹² Noushahra,¹³ Dachanpara, and Khawarpārā,¹⁴ Poonch, Kāshāl, and Damyāl.¹⁵

It appears that the strategic importance of the region was kept in view while determining the area of a *faujdārī*.¹⁶ After the annexation in 1586 A.D., the rebels had taken shelter in the mountainous regions of Kamrāj, Marāj, Dachanpara, and Dachan Khawūra regions.¹⁷ These regions were entrusted to *faujdar*s in order to keep a close watch over the activities of the rebels, and recalcitrant *zamindār*s.¹⁸ Ra jouri, Noushahra, and Bhimbar had great strategic importance. These posts were, as a matter of fact, gateways of Kashmir.¹⁹ Above all, these regions were inhabited by turbulent chieftains who always created trouble.²⁰ So separate *faujdar*s were appointed in these regions. Poonch, Kāshāl, and Damyāl formed one *faujdārī*. In 12 R.Y., 1064/1653-54 A.D. *faujdār* Jabār Quli was transferred and Murād Quli Gakhar was appointed as *faujdār* of this area.

The *faujdārs* were appointed by the Emperor under a *farmān* bearing the seal and signatures of the *Bakhshi-ul-Mulk*.²²

FUNCTIONS:

The primary duty of a *faujdār* was to protect the common people from the tyrannies of thieves and miscreants, and put down rebels of the *Subah*.²³

The maintenance of law and order, care and safety of the highways, and vigilant watch over the activities of thieves and robbers.²⁴

His help was also sought by the revenue collectors in case the recalcitrant *zamindār* or *ryots* were reluctant to pay the revenue. But he was advised not to use force in the first instance.²⁵ He also watched the *jāgīrdārs* and *zamindārs* if they collected the illegal cesses from the tenants.²⁶ He maintained a large contingent,²⁷ and had to be always vigilant and mobile.

The office comprised of two *peshkars* and a couple of *muharirs*. Their pay varied from regime to regime.^{27 a}

THĀNEDĀR

Thanas or police posts were established in the *Subah* at various places. The duties and functions of *Thānedārs* appear to have been identical with that of *faujdār*.²⁸ But the region under the control of a *thānedārī* appears to have been comparatively smaller. In the absence of source material, it is rather difficult to demarcate the territorial jurisdiction of the *thānedārs*.²⁹

The *faujdār* had a large area under his charge and had to perform multifarious duties, therefore, the need arose to establish *thānās* in various localities.³⁰ Secondly, sometimes, the strategic importance of certain areas also required a close watch. For example, during his visits, Akbar ordered the establishment of *Thānās* at Noushahra,³¹ Ra jouri,³¹ and Bi jbehra.³³ Another *thana* was established during our period at Kamrāj,³⁴ and Shigar.³⁵ Fortresses of Ra jouri, and Noushahra were built during this period.³⁶ The old fort of Bi jbehrara was repaired and a *thana* was stationed in this fortress.³⁷

After the conquest of Little Tibet, a *thānedār* was posted by the *Subahdār* with the permission of the Emperor in this territory.³⁸

The *thānās* were equipped with men and material in order to defend the territory.³⁹

The *Thānedārs* were appointed by the Emperor, but had to serve under the *Ṣubahdār*.⁴⁰

On account of administrative deterioration during the latter Mughal period, some of the *thānedārs* revolted against the *ṣubahdārs* and caused great disturbances.⁴¹ They became law breakers rather than guardians of law. In 1749-50, Babarullah *thanedār* of Kamrāz, entered into a league with the turbulent *zamindārs* of Muzzafarābd, with the assistance of each other they pushed back the provincial forces beyond Pattan. The innocent subjects were harassed, their property was looted and the women were molested.⁴²

KÔTWĀL

We have already stated that the rural areas were under the control of the *faujdār* and the *Thānedār*. The village *Choukidār* kept them informed of all the local developments.⁴³ Similarly, the urban areas like cities and towns were under the jurisdiction of the *Kotwal* concerning all police and municipal affairs.⁴⁴ As Srinagar was the only city of great importance in the *Subah*, the *Kotwāl* was perhaps appointed to this metropolitan city only.

The chief duty of *Kotwāl* lay in the maintenance of law and order, supervision of markets, and slaughter houses, guarding against the apprehension of the miscreants and anti-social elements,⁴⁵ and keeping the undertrials in his custody in his office which was called *Chabūtarā Kotwālī*.⁴⁶ the accused who were under his charge where presented to the Courts where their cases were put up for trial.⁴⁷ He also executed the sentence of convictions and exercising a measure of judicial authority in the disposal of some cases.⁴⁸

The nature of the *Kotwal's* office may be compared with the present police superintendent but it cannot be linked to that of a municipal officer because the very concept of civic administration was not understood in the modern sense of the term during this period.

This institution had a long standing in Kashmir. During the Hindu rule, this officer was known as *Nagarādhikṛta*.⁴⁹ His duty was to collect the fines imposed upon the defaulters, and keep an eye on the public morale. The same duty was carried on by the *Muhtasib* and the *Kotwāl* during the Muslim rule.⁵⁰ But the significance of *Muhtasib* comparatively decreased under the Mughals. Under Aurangzeb the office regained its importance⁵¹ but subsequently it died down.

A solitary but quite significant piece of evidence throws sufficient light on the nature of duties of the *Muhtasib*.

A *Muhtasib* raided the house of a *mansabdar*, Mir Muhammad Ṣafa, where a *mahfil-i-Samā* was being hosted. The *Muhtasib* was informed by his informers. This raid was conducted to stop the musical recital.⁵² It can be conjectured that the *Muhtasib* was virtually "censor of the public morale," and was charged to prevent the people from indulging in un-Islamic practices.⁵³

BAKHSHĪ

The *Bakhshī* occupied a significant place in the provincial administration next to the *Dīwān*. The incumbent used to hold a high *manṣab*.⁵⁴ His appointment was made by the Emperor and the order bore the signatures of all the four central *Bakhshis*,⁵⁵ but he had to work under the subordination of the *Ṣubahdār*.⁵⁶ It is quite significant to note that the duties of *Waqi'a Nawīs* were also assigned to the same official.⁵⁷ In A.D. 1640, Qāzi Mohammad Qāsim was holding the post of *Bakhshī* as well as that of *Waqi'a Nawīs*.^{57a} Āli Akbar another *Bakhshī* was functioning as a *Waqi's Nawīs*.⁵⁸ Similarly, Muhammad Salīm who was *Bakhshī* was also appointed as *Waqi's Nawīs*⁵⁹ in 1656. He retained both offices for a long time. Obviously, this increased the significance of the *Bakhshī*.⁶⁰ Being a *Waqia Nawīs*, he personally attended the office of the *Ṣubahdār* and posted his subordinate staff in the offices of *Dīwān*, *Ṣad'r*, *Qāzi*, and the *pargana* officials.⁶¹ His weekly reports were submitted to the centre directly in a sealed envelope.⁶² He had a well-staffed office to carry on the work efficiently and effectively.

He maintained the descriptive rolls of the retainers of *mansabdars*, the *jāgirdārs* and the *zamindars* within his *Ṣubah*.⁶³ He disbursed the emoluments of the *tāyinātiyāni-ṣuba* and other

officials who were paid in cash.⁶⁴ His office was run by a *pēshkāṛ* and *Muhārīrān*. Their scale of pay varied from *Ṣubahdār* to *Ṣubahdār*. Under Ibrāhīm Khān the *pēshkāṛ* of this office was paid rupees twenty only and under Jāfar Khān he was paid rupees sixty. The *Mohārīr* received rupees eighty in the *Ṣubahdāri* of Ibrāhīm Khān, rupees seventy during Nawāzish Khān's term and rupees fifteen only during Sādat Khān's regime.⁶⁴

The *ta'yīnātīs* of the *Ṣubah* sought his permission if they wanted to go outside the *Ṣubah* otherwise they were termed absconders (*Firārī*), and their property was subject to confiscation.⁶⁵ The property of the deceased was also escheated by the *Bakhshi*.⁶⁶

1. *A'in I*, (N.K.), pp. 196-97.
2. S.R. Sharma, presumes that every *sarkār* was assigned to one *faujdār*, *Mughal Government and Administration*, p. 243, but it was not a fact so far the *Subah* of Kashmir was concerned.
3. N.A. Siddiqi, incorporating *Siyāq Nama*, Nand Ram Kayisht, states that a new *faujdāri* in Chakla Faizabād was created during the reign of Shah jahān. I have not been able to trace out the newly created Chakla Faizabād in *Sarkar Kashmir*, which was assigned to a *faujdār*. There is no mention of this neither in Narain Koul Ājiz's *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, which was compiled in 1709, nor in *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, written in 1748. "Medieval India Quartely, Vol 4, 1961, p. 25. Since the *Siyāq Nāmā* was written in Bihar, and the details essentially pertain to the same province. Pargana Fatehpur of Faizabad *sarkar* is in this very province. No Chakla of this name was ever created in the province of Kashmir.
(ii) In 1586, *Muhib* Ali was appointed *Faujdār* of *parganah* Dachanpārā and Khawarpārā, *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, f. 205a.
4. *A'in, II*, pp. 177-78. The whole division had only one *Faujdār*, Ruqa'āt, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.
5. Muhammad Kazim, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 195.
6. Saeed Khān was appointed in 1068H/*Faujdār* of Bhimber and Noushahra, Muhammad Kāzim, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 195.
P. Saran, *Province Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 227, 229.
7. See Chapter II, Section I
8. See Appendix 'B'
9. *Ruqa'āt*, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 17a.
10. *Ruqa'āt*, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, f. 19a.
11. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 218
12. Muhammad Kazim, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 195.
13. *Ibid.*

14. *Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī*, f. 205a.
15. *Wārīs, Bādshah Nāma*, II, ff. 249-50.
16. P. Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, p. 224.
Huichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol II, pp. 685-86.
17. *Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī*, f. 205a.
18. *Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī*, f. 205a.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218
19. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 294.
20. See Chapter I, Section II.
21. *Wārīs, Bādshah Nāma*, II, ff. 249-50.
22. *A'in*, I, pp. 196-97.
P. Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, p. 229.
23. *A'in*, I, pp. 196-97.
Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 205a
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 218. See also *Nigar Nama Munshi*, f. 68.
N.A. Siddiqi has also elaborated the duties and functions in his book, *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals*, pp. 24, 36, 61, and 113-114. For a general study, see J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 63-64 *Inshāi Har* Karan, f. 446, Ms No 401, Iqbal Library, Kashmir University.
24. *A'in*, I, pp. 196-97.
Hidayatul-Qawaid, f. 213a.
Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī, f. 205a.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 218.
25. *A'in*, I, pp. 196-97; *Ruqa'āt*, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, 19a.
26. *Jawāhir Mal Bēkas, Dastūrul-Āmal*, f. 9.
27. *A'in*, I, p. 196-97.
- 27a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 454a.
28. The *Thānedār* of Marāz as well as Kamrāz were practically carrying on the functions of *Faujdar*s. See *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.
29. *Thānedār* of Kamrāz had almost entire area beyond Sopore under his control, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 257-60, and the *Thānedār* of Marz which was housed in an old fort at Bi jbehara controlled the upper division. *Faizi, Akbar Nāma*, ff. 238b, 39a. See also N.A. Siddiqi, 'Faujdar' "Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol IV, 1961," p. 28.
30. P. Saran *Provincial Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 230-32.
N.A. Siddiqi, "Medieval India-A Miscellany, Vol IV, 1961," p 28. Mostly the *Thānās* were stationed in the hilly regions of the *Ṣubah*. As a matter of fact, there was no need of so many police posts within the valley, because there were only few crimes in the *Ṣubah*. It never posed a serious threat to the administration, *A'in*, II, 170 (N.K.). *Kalimat-u Taibāt*, f. 92.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 228.
31. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Mohammad Kazim, *Ālamgir Nāma*, pp. 1038-39.

32. *Inshā-i-Harkaran*, f. 17. See also *Ruqā'āī*, Acc. No. 2675, Research Library, Srinagar, f. 28-29.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
33. *A'in*, II, p. 171. Faizi, *Akbar Nama*, ff. 238b-239a.
34. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.
35. Hashmatullah *Khān*, *Tarikh-i Jammu etc.*, p. 613.
36. *Tuzuk*, p. 317
Faizi, *Akbar Nāma*, ff. 238b-39a.
37. Faizi, *Akbar Nāma*, ff. 238b-39a.
38. Desideri, *Travels etc.* (tr. Filippi de Fellipo), p. 75.
39. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, pp. 167-8.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 257.
40. Manglī *Khān* was appointed by Aurangzeb as a *Thānedār* of Noushahrā, Muhammad Kazim, *Ālamgir Nama*, pp. 1038-39.
Tuzuk, p. 317.
Hashmatullah *Khān*, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, etc. p. 613.
41. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.
42. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 257.
This is perhaps the only instance when any official openly rebelled in Kashmir. No doubt, the peoples risings took place intermittently during the Mughal rule. The period of later Mughals was virtually full of chaos and confusion and lawlessness was prevalent all over the *Ṣubah*. See also Zahiruddin Malik, "Ṣuba of Kashmir Under the later Mughals," *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol II, 1972," pp. 149-63.
43. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 228.
Superfluous assumption of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of *sarkars* in the Mughal period and each *sarkār* was in the charge of a *Kōtwāl*, where he looked after the personal security of people, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.
44. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 66-71.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government and Administration*, pp. 232-235.
See also article of Akram Makhdoom, "Journal of Indian History, Vol 14, Part I, p. 111-13; 1935." The Assertion of P.N.K. Bamzai that Kashmir had varying number of *sarkars* in the Mughal period and each *sarkar* was in charge of a *Kotwal*, where he looked after the personal security of people, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 437, is not supported by any evidence.
45. *A'in*, I, pp. 197-8, See also *Historical Fragments*, p. 452. Nigārnāma Munshi, f. 130. P. Saran, *Provincial Government & Administration*, pp. 232-35.
46. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 291-s.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 175-256.
47. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 291-2.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
48. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 291-2.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 175-256.
P. Umre, *Historical Fragments*, p. 452.

49. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 204.
50. *Hidayātul-Qawā'id*, p. 172a.
Nigār Nāma Munshī, f. 132a.
Dastūrul-'Alam-i-'Alamgiri, Add 6599, f. 38.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 394.
See also *Mir'at-i-Ahamadi*, Supp. pp. 174-75.
51. J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 25.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 394, 398.
52. Mullah Ahamad Bin Abdus-Ṣabūr, *Khawariqu-Ṣālīkīn*, f. 145b.
53. P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 398.
54. Muhammad Salīm Bakhshi had a *manṣab* of 1000/400,
Muhammad Kāzim, *'Alamgir Nama*, p. 196.
'Alī Akbar who was transferred from Kashmir to Kashgar had a *manṣab* of 250/60,
Akhbarāt, 17th Jamid, II, 44 R.Y.
55. *Mir'at-i-Ahamadi*, Supp., pp. 174-75.
P. Saran has wrongly interpreted the sentence as there used to be four *Bakhshīs* in province who were appointed under the seal of the *Mirbakhshi*, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, pp. 197-8. *Hālāt-i-Mamālik-i-Mahroosa*, f. 139.
Ibn-i-Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 215.
56. J.N. Sarkar is not correct in his assumption that the *Bakhshī* used to be an official attached to the personal contingents of the *Subahdar*, *Mughal Administration*, p. 55. It is an admitted fact that every noble of considerable rank had his own "Sarkar," which was obviously supervised by the personal staff of the noble. He appointed his *Dīwān*, *Bakhshī*, Treasurer and *'āmil* in the Sarkar. Obviously, it was not the *Subahdār* only who had his personal staff. But every noble maintained it. Athar Ali, *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, pp. 161-62. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 451. William Irvine, *Army of the great Mughals*, p. 40. Ibn-i-Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 231-32.
57. William Irvine, *The Army of the Great Mughals*, p. 40.
- 57a. Kumbo, *'Amal-i-Ṣālīh*, II, p. 428.
58. "*Akhbarāt*, 17th Jamadi II, 44th R.Y."
59. *Wāris*, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, f. 323.
Mohammad Kāzim, *'Alamgir Nama*, p. 196.
60. P. Saran *Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughal*, pp. 199-98.
The importance of the officials can be also felt by this single evidence that Shah jahān during his visit to Kashmir remained for sometime in the house of Qazi Muhammad Qasim Bakhshī, Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 419. It is the only evidence when any of the Emperors had stayed in the private house of any official other than *Subahdār*.
61. *Mir'at-i-Ahamadi*, Supp. pp. 174-75.
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, pp. 293, 298.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 193.
62. *Mir'at-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.) pp. 174-75.
P. Saran *Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, p. 198.

63. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 537b.
Hidāyitūl-Qawā'id, f. 132.
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 199
64. P. Omre, *Historical Fragments*, p. 410. I.H. Qureshi is of the opinion that the Bakhshi was not a pay master-general. He discharged such a duty only occasionally, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 79.
- 64a. *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, f. 451b.
65. *Mirāt-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.
66. P. Saran *The Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, p. 198.

III. SECRET SERVICES FOR INTELLIGENCE

The centralised structure of the Mughal administrative set-up¹ made it imperative to keep a close watch over the provincial affairs; especially with the expansion of the empire the need of vigilance was felt still greater. It was not possible without any effective espionage system.² In the early stage there was only one institution known as *Wāqīā Nawīs*.³ As we have stated above the post was often combined with that of the *Bakhshi*. He posted his subordinate officials in the various provincial offices and bi-weekly reports were submitted to the central government through *dāk-chouki*.⁴ The officials attached to this institution collected all sorts of information, even the private gossip of the officers, and the like was transmitted to the emperor.⁵ The *dāk chouki* of *Ṣubah Kashmir* was supposed to deliver the *dāk* at the border of *Gu jarāt*. There were 47 officials in this department during the reign of *Aurangzēb*. It was the responsibility of the *Ṣubahdār* to ensure the regular disbursement of their pay without any break. This department almost kept a diary of the daily official transactions.⁶ In due course of time its efficiency was effected and the reports usually were biased, which necessitated the introduction of another secret service which kept the centre well posted without omission and commission. This was called *Khufiyā Nawīs* or *Sawānih Nawīs*.⁷ The appointment was made secretly, and his reports were considered very reliable and authentic.⁸ Prompt action was taken against a defaulter against whom the officials submitted such reports. *Ibrāhīm Khān*, the *Ṣubahdār*, was reprimanded by the Emperor on the basis of the report of the *Khufiyā Nawīs*.⁹ The *Khufiyā Nawīs* kept an eye on the conduct of the officials and sent reports against those officials whose conduct was not conducive to the state policies.¹⁰ But in the latter half of *Aurangzeb's* reign the *Sawānih Nigār* also entered into alliance with the corrupt *Ṣubahdārs* and played a vital part in exploiting both the state and the people. *Abū-Naṣar Khān* and his brother *Muẓaffar Khān* paid a share out of their illegal exactions to them.¹¹ Obviously, they remained in the office for longer periods in spite of their atrocities and illegal exactions.¹²

But on the whole the *Khufiyā Nawīs* was a great check on the behaviour of the provincial officers. Subsequently, another official called *Harkara* was appointed to each province. This official was to carry on same duty as that of *Khufiya-Nawīs* and *Wāqīā Nawīs*. Of all

the three officials, his reports were considered to be more reliable.¹² The identity of this official remained almost concealed¹³ while the *Khufiyā Nawīs* had become on open service.¹⁴ The *ḥarkarā* reports were directly sent to the centre through *dāk-chouki* for the imperial persual.¹⁵ The office of *Waḳia Nawīs* was run by a *pēshkā*r, *wakil* and a couple of *muharirān*.¹⁵

1. Ibni Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 357-358.
2. In the Independent Kashmir, there was highly developed espionage system, but we don't know about the facts of these institutions after the Mughal annexation, Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 203.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Supp.), p. 175.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 198.
4. *Mirāt-i-Ahamadi*, p. 175. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534.
5. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 534. *Dasturul Amal-i-Alamgiri*, Add. 6599, f. 38. *Akhbārā*, 29th Muḥaram, 45th R.Y.
6. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Supp.), p. 175. P. Saran, *Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 197-98.
7. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, p. 174.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government & Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 198-99.
8. *Gouhar-i-'Alam*, p. 293.
Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Supp.), p. 174-75.
9. *Gouhar-i-'Alam*, p. 293.
10. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, pp. 293, 294.
11. Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 97a.
12. Muhammad Murād Teng, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 97a.
- 12a. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.), p. 175.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p. 198.
Zamiruddin Siddiqi, 'Intelligence Service Under the Mughals', *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol II, 1972.
13. *Mirat-i-Ahamadi*, (Supp.), pp. 175-76
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 434b.
14. Mohammad Murād, *Tuhfatul-Fuqara*, f. 97a.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, pp. 198-99.
15. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Supp.), pp. 174-75.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 434b.
- 15a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 451b.

IV. MINOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

The mughal administrative set-up was highly sophisticated. Each and every branch of the administration was well attended.¹ The division in the work resulted in the efficient functioning of the administration. We have already discussed the major branches of administration. But our study will be incomplete if we do not take note of the minor administrative functionaries.

MĪR BAḤRĪ

The geographical features of Kashmir had provided the *Ṣubah* with natural stream-links and as such the entire trade and commerce was carried on through rivers.² River transport was a lucrative profession and it always remained in the hands of "Hānjis".³ In order to divest them of their profits a heavy tax was imposed on each member of this tribe irrespective of his working capacity.⁴ During the reign of Jahāngīr I'taqād Khān reversed the old system and imposed an annual tax of 75 *dāms* irrespective of their age and sex,⁵ but in 1633-34, the order was repeated and the tax was levied according to the old rates, as 60 *dāms* on a youngman, 36 *dāms* on boys and 12 *dāms* on infirm old men.⁶

There were more than 5700 boats plying in the river Jhelum and its tributaries during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr.⁷ In his first visit, Akbar wanted to visit the upper division of the valley in a boat and so a large number of beautiful house-boats were afloat on the river Jhelum and the Dal Lake.⁸ The construction and organization of this department was assigned to an official called *Mīr Baḥrī*.⁹ It was considered to be a prestigious post. Mullah Mazḥarī a famous post was appointed by Akbar as *Mīr Baḥarī* of Kashmir.¹⁰

Keeping in view the nature of the services, we can assume that he had a considerable retinue under him, posted at various ferries and posts, to collect the tax levied on the merchandise, grain and fodder.¹¹ Besides, the tax collection, he was supervising the building of boats and the maintenance of boat bridges as well.¹²

His duties were identical with that of *Khānisāmān* of the central government. This official was in charge of buildings, gardens, and state *Karkhānās*.¹³ He was known as *Diwāni-Bayūtāt* and *dāroga-Bagāt-o-Munzihāt* also.¹⁴ He was in charge of state houses, palaces, gardens and *karkhanas*. The maintenance, and administration of the state property was his sole responsibility.¹⁵ He appointed his own subordinate staff like *mālis*, and *chowkidārs*.

His appointment was made by the Emperor and he was in no way an official subordinate to the *Khānisāmān*.

In 1044-1634-35, Shah jahān appointed Malik Haidar architect-historian *Dāroga Bāghat-wā'Imārāt*, he remained in his office till his death, and Muhammad Kāzīm was appointed in his place.¹⁶ He was replaced by Sayyed Maqsood. He died in 1683-84 and Hāji Muhammad Sayeed was appointed as *bayūtālī*,¹⁷ a who was succeeded by Muhammad Rafi.¹⁸ Some of the *Bayūtālīs* held a high *manṣab* also. Hāji Mohammad Sayeed had a *manṣab* of 250/10,¹⁹ and Muhammad Ishāq *Khān*, son of Dārāb *Khān* held the rank of 400/20 and Muhammad Moonis 300/7.²⁰

1. Ibnī Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 354-56.
2. *A'in*, I, p. 145 (N.K.)
3. *A'in*, I, p. 145; II, 170
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 313-14
Bahāristān-i-Shāhī, f. 99a.
4. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, ff. 267-68a.
"Inscription on the gate of Jamia' Mas jid," Srinagar.
5. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, ff. 267-68a.
"Inscription of Jamia' Mas jid," Srinagar.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 299.
Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri, II, p. 564.
8. *A'in*, I, p. 145; *A.N.* III, p. 550.

9. A'in I, p. 145.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
Doābgāh, an adjacent town of Sopore was famous for boat industry. David Rose, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, p. 166.
10. Badā'uni, *Muntakhibu-Tawārikh*, III, pp. 344-45.
Blochmann, *A'in-i-Akbari*, p. 654.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
11. A'in, I, p. 145 (N.K.)
12. A'in, I, p. 145.
P. Saran, *Provincial Government and Administration of the Mughals*, pp. 170-71.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 409b-446a.
13. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 208.
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Administration*, p. 242.
J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 44-45.
14. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 208.
15. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 44-46
S.R. Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration*, p. 242.
16. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, II, pp. 53, 208.
17. *Akhbārāt*, Shawāl, 25 R.Y.
18. *Akhbārāt*, Ramzān, 40 R.Y.
19. *Akhbārāt*, Shawāl, 25 R.Y.
Rabi I, 46 R.Y.
20. *Akhbārāt*, Rabi I, 46 R.Y.
Muhammad Habi was given a rank of 200 and appointed *Bayūtālī* in 1702.
Akhbārāt, 23rd Šafar, 44 R.Y.

SECTION II
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL



CHAPTER : VI

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

The Mughal conquest was turning point in the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Kashmir. Henceforth the *Ṣubah* entered into a new phase of its history, breaking the age-long state of isolation.

In fact, the establishment of Muslim rule in the first quarter of 14th century had paved the way for the Islamic institutions.¹ The process of cultural assimilation, however continued, and it was the Mughal period that it took a definite shape. There was substantial change in the working of the political and administrative institutions,² and the socio-economic set-up did undergo a drastic change.³ The cash nexus was introduced during the period which gave a new fillip to the traditional economic set-up.⁴ Persian language which had already found its way into the *Ṣubah* eliminated Sanskrit & Sharda script completely. New *Ṣūfi* Orders like Naqashbandi, Chistia and Suhrawardi were introduced. The indigenous Rishi (mystic) Order and Kubrawi Order disintegrated along with Nurbakhshia Order which was gaining ground during the Chak rule and ultimately diluted to the extent that it was rather difficult to differentiate the Shiism and Nurbakhshiya ideology.

It was during this period that the Kashmiri merchants, soldiers, poets, artisans and scholars served outside Kashmir. They spread almost all over India,⁵ while Irānīs, Tūranīs, Afghans, and Indians came to Kashmir and settled in the *Ṣubah*.^{5a} Obviously, this social mobilization gave a new turn to the existing social order.

The adjacent chieftains of little and greater Tibet, Punch, and other hill states were reduced to complete submission. A uniform administrative set-up resulted in the free movement of merchants from one region to other. The *Jāgirdār*: besides the provincial officials mostly lived in the cities and towns. Thus these urban centres became the hub of all socio-cultural activities. New townships developed on the trade routes.⁶ Srinagar had the privilege of being the capital of the *Ṣubah* and as such it became the main centre of all the social movements. The industrial growth took a different shape, and in the course of time the shawl-weaving industry became a leading industry, which revolutionized the economy of the *Ṣubah*.

These currents and cross-currents, action and inter-action ultimately resulted in the assimilation of diverse cultures and a new social set-up emerged out. However, links with the past were not broken altogether; but a new social order had taken birth from the debris of the old indigenous traditions.

Dress, diet, housing, customs, and mode of living did undergo a change in the period that followed.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to discuss the important features of the social institutions, stratification of society, social and religious life and movements and the interplay of social, cultural intellectual and economic factors in the evolution of a composite and integrated social order in Kashmir as part of the larger social forces in operation in the whole of the Mughal Empire.

DIET :

Rice remained the staple food of the people in the valley as usual.⁷ It was boiled and left to cool down, because there was no custom of taking hot meals.⁸ Neither salt nor ghee was added during preparation.⁹ But the people of upper classes enjoyed all sorts of delicious dishes of various types and various preparations of meat were also cherished on festive occasions.¹⁰ Both boiled and fried green and dried vegetables were used commonly.¹¹ Walnut oil was mostly taken by the poorer sections of the society.¹² Rape, linseed, sesame and mustard oil was in common use.¹³ Butter and fats were not used commonly for the preparation of the dishes as it was considered to be harmful because of cold climate.¹⁴ Froth of buckwheat, barley, and millet was mostly eaten by the common people residing on the outskirts of the Wular-lake.¹⁵ Water chestnut flour was the staple food article of thousands of people.¹⁶ The nut flour was supplied to *biryān Farōshān* of Srinagar, by the farm contractors who appropriated the nuts from the lakeside during the harvest season.¹⁷ Bread prepared from the nut-flour was considered to be highly nutritive.¹⁸

Fish,¹⁹ mutton,²⁰ beef,²¹ fowls both domestic²² and wild were used by all sections of the people. Beens,²³ knolkhol,²⁴ carrots, bringal,²⁵ turnips²⁵ and pumpkins²⁶ were the usual vegetables.²⁷ Grams were not locally produced but lentils and other kinds of pulses were raised throughout the *Ṣubah*.²⁸

A brothlike dish of Mutton, rice and spices called *Harisā* was sold in the city during winter months. It was relished by all the sections of the society.

Wheat and barley was cultivated in a few pockets of the valley. Buckwheat, and millets were the main crops of Little and Greater Tibet, Pakhli and Kashtawār. Special kind of rice was produced in Rajouri, but the people mostly used bread in these regions.²⁹ Various types of bread called *jasa* and *nān* was prepared of wheat flour by the bakers.^{29a} Ghee was also used while baking.^{29b}

Spices of various kinds like pepper, turmeric, ginger, cloves, chillies and saffron were added to increase the taste and flavour of the dishes.³⁰ These spices were mainly imported from Agra.³¹

DRINKS :

Most common drink, though not intoxicating was tea. It was imported mainly from China via Ladakh.³² Soft liquor of various types was used by all and sundry.³³ It was distilled from grapes, barley, rice and mulberries.³⁴ Locally the liquor was called *mas*³⁵ Boza was prepared from rice in Pakhli as well as in the valley.³⁶ The distilled liquid was preserved in earthen jars for years together. The oldest boza was called "*achi*"³⁷ In Little and Greater Tibet, a peculiar drink was prepared from barley, millet and buckwheat.³⁸ It was mixed with goat's butter. The delicious soft intoxicating drink was called "*chang*". Cups after cups were taken to heat up their bodies.³⁹

On festive occasions there was free consumption of liquor by the participants.⁴⁰ *Angūri* and *qandī* were the cherished drinks of singers.⁴¹ But there appears to have been substantial decrease in liquor consumption during the later half of the 17th century. Tobacco was introduced during the late 17th century,⁴² and during 18th century, it was puffed by a larger section of the society.⁴³

DRESS :

The climate conditions have a direct relation with the dress of the people. The cultivation of cotton was not profitable because of poor yield while as excellent pastoral areas provided sufficient grazing ground for sheep; so wool was available in larger quantities.⁴⁴ Secondly the valley and Kashtawār were full of mulberry trees.⁴⁵ Silk

worms were reared on the leaves of this golden tree. So, the dress of men and women was prepared from wool,⁴⁶ while silk garments were the privilege of upper class-people only.⁴⁷ Cotton cloth being very costly was considered to be an item of luxury.⁴⁸ A loose and long gown of *pattū* was the common dress of all the people in the valley and Pakhli.⁴⁹ During the winter months, woollen blankets were used by all sections of the society.⁵⁰ It was difficult to differentiate a Hindu from Muslim on the basis of dress.⁵¹ Drawers were not used by the lower sections⁵² while *Jāma*, *pēshwāz*, *chemes* were the main articles of dress of upper classes.⁵³ These articles were made from fine silk, *zarbāft*, *kimbhāb* and velvet.⁵⁴ A long and loose dress of *Pattū* and *pūstīn* was common in Ladakh.⁵⁵ But in the hotter regions of Ra jouri, Noushahra, Bahrām gallā and Punch the people used to wear cotton cloth and the style was resembling to that of the Pun jab.⁵⁶

'Ulama, and eminent scholars put on a black cloak of persian style 56^a and a turban of white colour.⁵⁷

The headgear varied from place to place. Both Hindus and Muslims shaved their head, but they wore a beared.⁵⁸

Turban was a common headgear but the common people usually put on askull-shaped cap.⁵⁹ During winter bag-shaped woollen cap like Russian balacava was worn by the people.⁶⁰ There was no common use of trousers, it was used only occasionally.^{60^a} The Tibetans put on a typical type of head-dress of red and yellow colour.⁶¹

Women folk dressed their hair in plaits and a long clout of dyed wool was attached to the locks of hair,⁶² and put on an ornamented head dress called *qasāba*,⁶³ while the elderly Hindu ladies tied a white handkerchief around their head.⁶⁴ Nose ring was used by the women of Ra jouri, Bahrām gallā and Noushahra.⁶⁵

Shoes made from hides were not used by common people. It was a luxury for them⁶⁶. They used *pulhōre*, a typical type of footwear made from twisted rice straw.⁶⁷ Wooden sandals were commonly used.⁶⁸ A woollen long cloth called *petāwa* was tied around the calf of the legs in order to protect them from pinching cold winds.⁶⁹

Kānger, a bowl-shaped earthen pot contained in wicker work was a peculiar thing used to warm the body. Hot embers made from tender willow and poplar twigs, and chinara leaves were put into the bowl. The

burnt chaff of grain was also put in it, which generated a head of moderate temperature. Charari Sharif was a famous centre of the manufacture of the *kanger*.⁷⁰

FESTIVALS AND PASTIMES :

"When a Kashmiri, even of the lowest order, finds himself in the possession of ten Shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party and launching into the lake, solaces himself till the last farthing is lost," was the observation of George Forster, who visited Kashmir in 1783.⁷¹ Kashmiri never missed a chance to participate in a festive occasion. Both religious and secular type festivals were observed and enjoyed by all the sections of the people.

I'd, *Shab-i-Barāt*, *Nouroze*, *Dīwālī*, and *Dussehra*, were observed with great rejoicing, pomp and show.⁷² All sections of society participated in these festivals. *Nouroze*, *Dīwālī* and *I'ds* had become virtually the national holidays. Bonafires, illuminations and *jashins* were surpassing even the excellence of Persian style.⁷³ A legendary birth day of the River Jhelum on the 13th of Bhādūn was celebrated by illuminating tinny oil lamps on both the banks of river Jhelum.⁷⁴ *Dussehra* was a Hindu festival, but the Muslims also participated in it equally. Both Akbar and Jahangir distributed robes of honour upon the Hindu nobles on these occasions.⁷⁵

Besides these national festive occasions, some regional and local religious festivals were also celebrated. The death or birth anniversary of saints and *ṣūfis*, who were scattered all over the *Ṣubah*, were celebrated with reverence. The annual fairs '*Urs* of the saints like Sheikh Noorud-Din Rīshī at Charari Sharif,⁷⁶ Babā jānbāz Wali at Baramulla,⁷⁷ Rishi Maloo at Islamabad. Sayyid Ali Hamadāni, and Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi at Srinagar were also held with great reverence and adherence. Hindus also celebrated the annual fairs of Tulla Mullā, Amar Nāth, Sind Berārī, and Kokar Nāg.⁷⁸ Similarly the annual function of Shah Asrār-ud-Dīn at Kashtawār and periodical festivals in various gompas in Ladakh were also celebrated with great reverence.

The death and birth ceremony of the local saints were almost celebrated throughout the valley. In the course of time these ceremonies turned into annual fairs,⁷⁹ drawing people from various quarters.

GAMES AND PASTIMES :

We are not in a position to have a detailed account of the games and pastimes because of the paucity of source material. However, the people took to the following games and pastimes : The hunting of wild ducks and fowls was a common hobby. The bird catchers delighted in taking their boats in the midst of the lakes along with their highly trained falcons. The falcon was left free and it pounced upon its prey in the midst of air and brought it down in the water. The fowls that were caught were cooked and served among the friends.⁸⁰

Polo or choughān was a common game played almost throughout the *Ṣubah* by all sections of people.⁸¹ It was equally popular in Tibet and kashtawar.⁸²

It is interesting to note that mock battles were fought among the youngsters of different wards of Srinagar in Maisuma ground.⁸³ Tipcat, hopscotch, and wrestling bouts were some other games played during our period.⁸⁴

The *Bachī Nagma* was also a common entertainment. The organized ministerls used to sing and dance in the villages and cities.^{84a}

HOUSING :

Kashmir has always been praised for its lofty trees, no wonder that four, five and six storeyed buildings were built in wood. The ground floor was reserved for cattle, first floor was meant as family apartments, second and third floors were reserved for household chattles.⁸⁵

Stone, lime and backed bricks constituted the main building material used by the upper classes.⁸⁶ Keeping in view the geographical conditions, stone was not freely used by the common man.⁸⁷ The house roofs were slanting as now to let the snow fall off during the winter months. The roofs were covered with planks, and brich bark covered with fine earth.⁸⁸ Tulips, white and pink lillies were grown over it.⁸⁹ Rosaries, and orchards were laid out in front of the houses of rich people,⁹⁰ and fruits and vegetables were cultivated in the kitchen gardens.⁹¹ The custom of enclosures was not in vogue,⁹² but in the course of time the habit developed and mud walls were built around the compounds.⁹³ Wine yards, and ivy bales with plane and

poplars was the peculiarity of their mansion.⁹⁴ Their houses were mainly built on the banks of the Jhelum, and around the Dal Lake.⁹⁵ The exteriors of these mansions were highly decorated, but the interiors were not equally beautiful. Lattice work was artistically introduced in place of glass-panes.⁹⁶ Most of them owned luxury house-boats and *shikaras*.⁹⁷ Other luxurious amenities were also at their disposal. The houses of the common people were constructed in fresh cutpines, fir and cedars.⁹⁸ The planks were fastened together and gaps were filled up with mud plaster.⁹⁹ The roof tops were covered with paddy straw and reeds.¹⁰⁰ The same style of houses was in vogue in Kashtawar. Banihal and Pakhli, but these were not multistoreyed.¹⁰¹ But the houses in Little and Greater Tibet were of quite different style. On account of scarcity of timber, stone constituted the main building material and the houses were single storeyed with a few rooms.¹⁰²

The layout of the city of Srinagar was excellently beautiful. It was spread over on the both banks of the river Jhelum. Interiors were linked by canals presenting a picturesque look.¹⁰³ The city was densely populated and houses were built close to each other on either side of the streets.¹⁰⁴ The lanes though paved with hewn stones, were yet very narrow, and the city was congested.¹⁰⁵ Barāmulla, and Islamabad were two other towns spread over the same river.¹⁰⁶ The towns of Shopiyān, Bi jbehāra, Kashtawār, Punch, and Ra jouri were not congested.

FLOOR COVERINGS :

The lower sections of the society used paddy straw, and mats made from turf of lakes called *pets* (Typhs Sp).¹⁰⁷ It commonly grew in the lakes and marshy lands.¹⁰⁸

But the dhurries, carpets, gabbās, and other textured floor coverings was the privilege of the aristocracy.¹⁰⁹ Cots and chairs were not used in the valley and Little and Greater Tibet, but might have been in use in the Ra jouri, Punch and other such regions.¹¹⁰

UTENSILS :

The peasant household consisted of a few earthen pots, some bowls, and a pair of earthen pitchers.¹¹¹ Brass, copper, and other metal wares were used by the upper classes.¹¹² China wares, saphire and jade dishes and plates were also in use of the privileged class.¹¹³

STATUS OF WOMEN :

Women enjoyed the same positions in society as was accorded to them in Persia, Turkistan, and the rest of Mughal India.¹¹⁴ The ladies of the upper strata of society enjoyed the privileges of an aristocratic society while the women folk in general faced the hard life side by side with their husbands.¹¹⁵ They worked in the fields, gardens and earned their livelihood from wool spinning.¹¹⁶ They did not observe *purdah* and moved freely in the streets.¹¹⁷ They participated in the festivals and fairs.¹¹⁸ While the ladies of aristocracy and the *U'lama* maintained strict *purdah* and did not go out except in palanquins and litters.¹¹⁹ They received elementary education from tutors within their own houses.¹²⁰ Some of the ladies of *ṣūfis* even managed the *khānqāh* after the death of their husbands. Begam of *Khawāja Mo'inuddīn* after the death of *Khawāja* in 1085/H managed the *Khānqāh* and surpassed even men in its administration.¹²¹ It was a *ṣūfic* belief that women could not sustain the hardships required for emancipation and achieve perfection as *Ṣūfi*, but Mullah *Shāh Badakhshī* had some women disciples also.¹²² *Roopa Bhawānī* was also a saint and a *Ṣūfi* of her time. She was a disciple of *Shāh Sādiq Qalander*.¹²³ However, the common woman had neither leisure nor the facilities to receive education.

Though Islam has permitted polygamy, but it did not gain currency in the *Ṣubah*. It was not practised by the common people. Even the *zamindārs* who were financially better off did not usually marry more than one wife.¹²⁴ But polyandry was quite a common custom among the Buddhists of Ladakh and Askardū.¹²⁵ The condition of the women-folk of the valley was comparatively better than those of Ladakh and other hilly regions.¹²⁶

In *Rajouri*, and *Bhimber*, inter-marriages among Hindus and Muslims were quite common.¹²⁷ It is very strange to note that in a number of cases, Muslim ladies were buried alive with their husbands after the latter's death. *Sati* among Hindus was also quite common in these regions. Both *Jahāngīr* and *Shah jahān* discouraged the inter-marriages and strictly forbade the *Sati*.¹²⁹ In spite of all restrictions, it continued until *Aurangzeb's* accession. He strictly prohibited the practice and warned the officials to face dire consequences if *sati* was resorted to with their connivance or failure.¹³⁰ Child marriage was a

common feature in both the communities in all regions of the *Ṣubah*.¹³¹ Widows had no social restriction to remarry and they were entitled to own property.¹³²

Kashmiri beauty had always been proverbial. Fair-complexioned girls with striking and sharp features and a pointed nose had made the 17th century European travellers¹³³ spell bound as they overwhelmed with fascination all the other foreigners who coveted the possession of the valley. George Forster expressed the same opinion about the womenfolk of the *Ṣubah*.¹³⁴ But the majority of the common womenfolk who were exposed to the sun and heat were not so charming in looks and were of pink complexion.¹³⁵

The Mughal nobles had a great desire to marry Kashmiri girls.¹³⁶ During the Mughal rule so many Kashmiri girls were married to them¹³⁷ and many maidens of superb beauty were appointed as maids in the imperial household¹³⁸ with various assignments and duties.

It was during this period that the women of Kashmir was exposed to the outer world and in the course of time resulted in the shameful and nefarious practice of trafficking in women and white slave trade.¹³⁹

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES :

It was a marked feature of medieval society that the weaker chieftains gave their daughters in marriage to the powerful ones who obviously happened to be their over lord or suzerain. The chieftains of Jammu, Rajouri, Poonch and Little and Greater Tibet entered into such alliances even before the establishment of the Sultanate.¹⁴⁰ The same tradition was kept up by the Muslim Sultāns.¹⁴¹

Mughal Monarchs in general and Akbar and his successors in particular attached inordinate emphasis to matrimonial alliances. Many Rajput chieftains offered their girls in marriage to the Mughal emperors and princes.¹⁴² The same policy was followed in Kashmir. Even before the formal annexation, the daughter of Husain Chak was married to Prince Salim. After the conquest many more princesses found their way into the imperial harem.¹⁴³ It was not the ruling dynasty of Chaks but the chieftains of Tibet, Rajouri, and Kashtawar were also persuaded to enter into matrimonial relationship.¹⁴⁴ Even the

powerful nobles were persuaded to give their daughters to the princes of royal blood.¹⁴⁵ Such alliances had far-reaching consequences, the rebel chieftains were pacified and befriended to obey the Mughal emperors, and relinquished armed struggles against the Mughals.¹⁴⁶ It thus proved a master stroke of imperial policy of winning friends and disarming opposition. Information is lacking as to what role these ladies played in the imperial harems, and how far they were able to effect the imperial policies.

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 218-19.
2. See Chapter II and III
3. See Chapter VI.
4. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian system of Mughal India*, p. 212.
 'Potentialities of the Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India', pp. 11-13.
 'Usuary in Medieval India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol VI, Number I, October 1963, p. 393.
 For detail, see Chapter VI.
5. A.N., III, pp. 578-79, 758, 821.
 Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, ff. 211-13.
Tārikh-i-Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgiri, ff. 21ab.
 University Collection 69/2, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh.
Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī, ff. 205b-6a.
- 5a. *Khawarīkus-i-Sālikīn*, ff. 70b, 74b, 74a, 171b, 172a.
6. See Chapter VI
7. A' in, II, p. 170.
Iqbāl-Nāma Jahāngīrī, III, p. 565.
Turuk, p. 300
8. *Tuzuk*, p. 300. Boiled rice was called "bhata".
9. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
Iqbāl-Nāma Jahāngīrī, III, p. 565.
10. Dā'ud Mishkāti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, f. 38b, 247 a-b.
11. A' in, II, p. 170
12. Kambu, *Āmal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 28.
Tuzuk, p. 301.
13. *Tuzuk*, p. 301;
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 345-7, 372.
 Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 339.

14. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
15. *Khawarīqus-Sālikīn*, f. 173b.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 344. Hasan.
Tārīkh-i-Kashmir, I, f. 63a.
16. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 63a.
Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 471.
17. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 344.
18. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 354-5.
19. *A' in*, II, p. 170.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 437b.
Tuzuk, p. 300
20. *A' in*, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 300
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 200
Suka, Raja—Tarangini, (tr. J.C. Dutt), p. 421.
21. *Khawarīqu-Sālikīn*, f. 966.
Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 64a-b.
Mohibbul, Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 230.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 254.
22. *A' in*, II, pp. 170, 175, *Tuzuk*, pp. 300-1.
23. *A' in*, II, p. 170, *Tuzuk*, pp. 294, 300-1.
24. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 112a. *Asrār-ul-Abrār*, f. 213a.
25. *Tabaqāl-i-Akbari*, III, p. 477
- 25a. *Asrār-ul-Abrār*, 213a.
26. G.T. Vigne, *Personal Narrative of a Travel*, etc. II, p. 230.
27. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 531a, mentions that the pulses of mong, moths, blackbeans, white beans, krothi, and lentils were used commonly. See also f.n. 56a.
28. *A' in*, II, p. 170.
A' in, III, p. 727
Tuzuk, p. 301.
29. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Saleh*, II,
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 417-18.
J.P. Fergusan, *An Introduction to the History of Kashmir*, p. 162. Desideri,
Travels, p. 78.
- 29a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 427a.
- 29b. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 433b.
30. *A' in*, II, p. 172.
Tuzuk, pp. 300-1.
Pelsaert, *Jahāngir's India*, pp. 34-35.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 417b, 418a and 420b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 46, 73.
31. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 34-35.
32. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 64b.

33. A' in, II, p. 170 Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 34.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 415a-b.
34. *Iqbal-Nāma Jahānrigi*, III, p. 565, *Tuzuk*, p. 300
35. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
36. *Tuzuk*, p. 290
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 174
37. *Tuzuk*, p. 290
38. Desideri, *Travels, etc.* p. 78
Moorcroft, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc.*
I, pp. 232-3.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 404, 560
41. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 404a, 415a-b.
42. Zaffar, Khan Ahsan, *Haft Masnavi*, f. 8a.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 7.
Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 64a.
43. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 436b, 440b.
Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 96.
44. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 432.
A' in, II, p. 170.
Tuzuk, p. 301.
45. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 432.
A' in, II, p. 170
Tuzuk, p. 301.
46. A' in, II, p. 170
Tuzuk, p. 301.
47. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, pp. 552a.
48. Pelseart, *Jahangir's India*, p. 33.
49. A' in, II, pp. 170-1.
Tuzuk, p. 301. Some modern writers attribute the introduction of this loose long gown, locally called *pheran* to Akbar, intending to make the people of Kashmir lethargic, vigne, G.T. *Travels, etc.* II, 142, E.F. Knight, 2Where Three Empires Meet, 26, Lawrance,, *Valley of Kashmir*, 251. It is quite contrary to the facts *Pheran* was commonly used even before the Mughal conquest, Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 228. As a matter of fact the Mughal monarchs ridiculed this dress, A' in, II, 170; *Tuzuk*, p. 301
50. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 185.
51. *Tuzuk*, p. 301
52. *Tuzuk*, p. 301
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, ff. 279b, 562
53. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 562.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans.*

54. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 562.
55. Kumbu, *ʿAmal-i-Ṣālih*, I, pp. 515-16
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 423-24.
56. *Tuzuk*, p. 317
- 56a. Dāūd Mishkāwti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, ff. 208a, 2321.
57. *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam*, f. 12
Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, f. 415.
He calls it a cabay.
58. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
59. Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in Hindustan*, II, p. 97.
Chopra, P.N., *Some Aspects of Society & Culture*, p. 7
60. *Ibid.*
- 60a. Dāūd Mishkāwti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, f. 221a.
61. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 415-16.
62. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 35.
63. *Qasāba* was a type of handkerchief tied around the head by women folk, *A'in*, I, p. 74.
See also *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*. For further details, see Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 251-52, 262.
64. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 279b.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 262.
65. *Tuzuk*, p. 317
66. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 369a.
Insha Collection 3102, Research Library, Srinagar,
f. 76a.; Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 251-2.
67. *A.N.*, III, p. 540; Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 3.
68. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 63. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 3.
69. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*,
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 252.
70. Daud Mishkāwti, *Asrārul-Abrār*, 207a.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 63b, 112a.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 250.
71. George Forster, *From Bengal to England by Sea*,
II, pp. 13-17
See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 256.
72. *Tuzuk*, p. 305
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 168.
73. *A.N.*, III, p. 626
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 168
Ṣādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shāhjahāni*, p. 94
74. *A.N.* III, p. 732. *Tuzuk*, p. 311.
75. *Tuzuk*, p. 314.

76. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
77. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 414.
78. A' in, II, p. 170-4. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 234-6. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 267-71.
79. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 72, 315.
80. A' in, II, p. 172, A.N., III, p. 548
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 271
81. Malik Haider, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 169a.
82. Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan Provinces*, I, p. 107
83. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 255.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 232
84. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 255.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 232.
- 84a. *Asrārul Abrār*, f. 242a. *Infra*, p. 300, 8n
85. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (N. Elias), p. 434.
A' in II, p. 169. *Tuzuk*, pp. 298-9.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 297-98
86. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 432-3
Desideri, *Travels*, (tr. Filippo-De-Fillipi), pp. 72-351.
Forester, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 11.
87. A' in, II, p. 169. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 398.
The temples were built in stone only but the shrines and mosques were of wood only. Subsequently the Mughals Re-introduced the use of stone in civic buildings. See Chapter VII, Section III.
88. A' in, II, p. 169, A.N., III, p. 543. *Tuzuk*, pp. 289-9.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 351.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughals Empire*, p. 398.
91. A' in, II, p. 169
93. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 11.
94. Desidari, *Travels*, p. 351.
95. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, f. 314a-b.
Kumbu, *Āmal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 33.
96. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, pp. 11, 36
97. Kumbu, *Āmal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 33.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 398.
Shikara is a light boat used for common passengers.
98. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 23.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 249
99. Lahori, *Bādshah-Nāma*, I, p. 23.

100. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 140a.
101. *Tuzuk*, p. 291.
102. Desideri *Travels*, p. 75.
See also Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political, Physical etc.*
Chapter III
103. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 398
104. Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, III, p. 33.
105. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 425. Kumbu, *'Amal-i-Salih*, II,
P. 30 Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 71-72.
106. *Tuzuk*, p. 296.
107. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 150.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 306b.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 69.
Wat, **Commercial Products of India**, p. 777
Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 180b.
108. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 180b.
109. *Tuzuk*, p. 301, *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 279b & 562a.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, I, p. 448.
110. *Tuzuk*, pp. 298-99.
111. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 249-50
112. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 557
113. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 561.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 141.
114. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 24.
115. For comparison, see Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34
and Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 402-4.
116. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 402-4.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 24.
117. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34.
118. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 34.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 189-90.
119. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 403-4.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, pp. 3, 4, 24.
F. Drew, *Territories of Jammu and Kashmir*, pp. 182-3.
120. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 129-30, 168-9.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 227
121. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 168-9
122. *Sakinatul-Awlia*, p. 153.
123. P.N.K. Bamazai, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 400.

124. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, ff. 531a-b.
125. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, p. 419.
Fillipo-de Filippi, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, p. 135.
126. J.P. Ferguson, *Kashmir—An Introduction*, etc. p. 164.
127. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
Lahori, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, I, pp. 57-8.
128. *Tuzuk*, p. 317. Lahori, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, I, pp. 57-8.
129. *Tuzuk*, p. 317. Lahori, *Bādshāh-Nāma* I, pp. 57-8
Kumbu, 'Amli-i-Sālih, II, pp. 63-64.
130. *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 138.
Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhibu-Lubāb*, I, p. 501.
Mohamad Šādiq Khān, *Tarikh-i-Shahjahāni-wa-Ālamgiri*,
f. 349. See also G.T. Vigne, *Travels*, II, p. 151.
Moorcroft & Trebeck, *Travels in Hindustan*, II, p. 131.
131. *Tuzuk*, p. 317.
132. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 129-30. See also *madadi mash*
grant document Nos. 10 and 24, Research Library, Srinagar.
133. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 404, 415-17
134. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 356.
135. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 32.
136. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 402.
137. A' in, III, p. 220
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 372-403.
138. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 372-403.
Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, II, p. 328
139. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 372, 403.
Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, II, p. 328
140. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 209
141. *Ibid.*
142. A.N., II, pp. 123, 135. *Tuzuk*, p. 68
143. Akbar had also a daughter of the Chak ruler in his harem,
A.N., III, p. 609.
Prince Salīm was married to the daughters of Iba Malik and Ali Rai Zamindar of
Tibet, A.N. III, p. 609, and daughter of Shamas Chak was married to him in 1588.
A.N., III, p. 626. Murad Bakhsh married the daughter of a zamindar of Shahābād
parganah, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 139, *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 269. Prince Muhammad
Sultan was married to the daughter of Ra ja Mahā Sen of Kashtahwaī, *Akhbārāt*,
Rajab, 24 R.Y. Prince Mu'azzam had the daughter of Tājūd-Dīn of Ra jouri in marriage,
Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 686, Ra ja Gour Sen gave his
daughter to Shah Shu ja, Kumbu, 'Amal-i-Sālih, II, p. 445, Lahori, *Bādshāh*-
Nāma, II, pp. 434-35.
144. See f. n. 14B supra.
145. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 139. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 269.
146. A.N., III, p. 626.

CHAPTER : VII

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND MOVEMENTS

Shiá-Sunni Relation

Background :

As already observed above the state patronage by way of *Madadi Ma'āsh* grants and stipends etc. was extended to the *Ṣūfis*, theologians, scholars and others ever since the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. It attracted many people of significance, erudition and piety from outside Kashmir. In A.D. 1481 Shamas-ud-Din came to Kashmir as an envoy to the Court of Sultan Hussain Shah.¹ He was a votary of the *Nūrbakhshī* belief and he introduced it in the *Ṣubah*. *Bābā Ali Na jār*, and *Baba Ismāil Kubravi* became the first disciples of Shama-ud-Din.² He remained in Kashmir for eight years but the exigencies of his office did not permit him to propagate his missionary ideas freely and publicly. However, on his return to his native land, he came again with the job of a missionary to propagate the *Nūrbakhshīa* ideology. It was during this period that civil war among the sons of *Zainulābidin* had gravely affected the administration and the nobles were freely indulging to create chaos and confusion. The Chak Clan was gaining importance and in the course of time they laid claims to the throne.³ Meanwhile, Shamas-ud-Din was able to influence a large section of this clan. In 1540, *Mirza Haidar Dughlat* conquered Kashmir. Though he allowed Sultan *Nāzuk Shah* to rule over the land he obtained virtual control over the kingdom. In order to consolidate his position he devised a method to divide the Kashmiris. He prescribed the propagation of the new creed and brought back *Dāniyāl*, son of Shamas-ud-Din from *Askardo*. *Fiqah Ahwal*, a treatise by *Sayyid Mohammad Nūrbakhsh* on the *Nurbakhshī* theosophy was sent to some leading Indian theologians for scrutiny. It was decreed as an innovation (*bid' at*;) and on this pretext the *Mirza* attacked the Chak strongholds. *Zadibal Khānqah* of Iraqi was burnt and the feelings of the two sections were thereby alienated.⁴ Meanwhile *Mirza Haidar* was killed in an encounter in 1551, and soon after his death Chak rule was established. The Chaks adopted retaliatory attitude towards the Sunni 'Ulama; who were opposed to the continuance of their rule. The Shah Mir nobility was reduced to a subordinate position and the powerful Chak clan and their allies, the *Maliks* obviously controlled the resources. All these

factors combined to widen the gulf and the powerful Mughals who cast covetous eyes on the *Ṣubah*, got an opportunity. In 1584-85, a delegation of the Sunnis of Kashmir approached Akbar who immediately mobilised an army under Shah Rukh Mirza and Raja Baghwant Dass and sent an expedition to Kashmir which resulted in snatching power from the Chaks.⁵

The establishment of the Mughal rule subsided the sectarian tension for some time but mutual dislike was still simmering in the die-hards and could have manifested itself in an ugly manner if given the time and expression.

In the course of time the Maliks of Chādoora regained their foothold in Kashmir.⁶ In 1618, Malik Haider was assigned *zamindāri* rights and given the title of *Rā'isul-Mulk* and *Chugtāi*.⁷ His brother Malik 'Ali was assigned *jāgīrs* and a *manṣab*. They rebuilt the *Khānqāh* of zadibal and Hasanabad. Their influence was increasing day by day. This development caused anxiety among the other sections.⁸ Even the *Ṣubahdārs* disliked their interference.⁹ Ahmad Bag Khān and Dilāwar Khān tried to poison the ears of Jahangir in order to tarnish their image.¹⁰

In 1622 a section of Srinagar was devastated by fire. Jamia Masjid was also burnt. Jahāngir who happened to be in Srinagar directed the royal water carriers under Maliks to extinguish the fire; but they failed to save the mosque.¹¹ The incident provided an opportunity to intriguers to hatch out a conspiracy against the Maliks. Maliks Nā ji and Malik Haider were alleged to have burnt the mosque in retaliation of the destruction of the *khānqāh* of Zadibal. Jahāngir ordered the Maliks to rebuild the mosque and bear its expenses.¹² It was bitterly resented by the Shiās and fostered sectarian hatred. Henceforth the sectarian skirmishes took place from time to time.

In 1636, sectarian riots broke out in the city of Srinagar. A certain incident led to the flare-up. A group of vagabonds of both the sections were relishing mulberries at Maisuma¹³ when a quarrel broke out amongst them and some of the Shiās used indecent words about the Prophet and the three Caliphs. In a short-while the entire city was engulfed in the riots. Sunnis attacked Zadibal and Hasanābād, and destroyed the life and property of the Shiās.¹⁴ Khwājā Khāwand Mohmūd rose to the occasion and he controlled the situation, but he

demanding the execution of the culprits. Zafar Khān, the *Ṣubahdār* did not pay any attention, and the Khwāja left the city in protest and encamped at Haft Chinār. Thousands of his followers followed him. In spite of such a popular demand Zafar Khān did not yield. He awaited the imperial orders. Khwāja Khāwand Muḥmūd was summoned to the Court and was not allowed to return to Kashmir.¹⁵

In 1667, once again sectarian riots broke out. Sheikh Abdul Rashid Chikan, along with his disciples was going to participate in the annual fair of Shaikh Nūruddin Rishi at Charari-Sharif.¹⁶ When the procession reached Chādoora, Malik Husain, son of Malik Haidar, was at the gate of his house. He did not pay his respects to the pilgrims.¹⁷ Sheikh Rashid ridiculed the Malik and hot words were exchanged.¹⁸ The Sheikh abandoned the pilgrimage and approached Saif Khān, The *Ṣubahdār*.¹⁹ The Sheikh was not satisfied with the enquiry. Meanwhile, *Khufiyā-Nawis*, reported the facts to Emperor. The case was handed over the Qāzi-Askar, and Malik Husain and his servants were executed.²⁰

The worst riots took place in 1685-86. There was a quarrel between a businessman and one Abdul Shakoor a resident of Hasanābād on some private matter. Abdul Shakoor was reluctant to pay his debt, so the parties abused each other. The merchant filed a suit in the Court of Qāzi, alleging that the debtor had committed denunciation of the Prophet's companions, (*Sabbi Suhāba*), and demanded their immediate execution.²¹ Ibrāhīm Khān wanted to pacify the parties through the good offices of Mulla Ṭāhir Mufti. But the situation was aggravated, by Murid Khān, Alaf Khān, Mirza Muqīm, Khwaja Sharif Dehedi, and Muhammad Sabir.²² A group of miscreants set Hasanābad to fire. Ibrāhīm Khān sent his son, Fidāi Khān, to protect the residents of Hasanābād above cited Afghan nobles took arms against Fidāi Khān. Gunfire was exchanged and innocent people became victims. Mufti Ṭāhir wanted to settle the dispute amicably; but the Qāzi was not cooperative.²³ Mufti's house was set to fire along the *Ṣubahdār's* residence. Ibrāhīm Khān directed his troops to put down the riots and directed his son to arrest Qāzi Aslam.²⁴ When the people came to know this, they gave a stiff resistance. Fidāi Khān opened fire and more than forty people were killed,²⁵ and ultimately Bāqi Babā, Hāji Bandi, Khwāja Qāsim, and Lala Ganai were arrested.²⁶ But Ibrahim Khan was immediately transferred and he was demoted.²⁷ Thus the objective of Afghan nobles was

fulfilled.²⁸ However, an enquiry commission was set up and Ibrāhīm Khān was found innocent. But it took more than two years to establish the fact.

Even the rural areas did not remain immune. In Soibug, some followers of Sheikh Hamza Makhdūmi lodged a complaint of *Sabbi Ṣuhāba* against one Rustum Māntū in the Court of Qāzi Abdul Karīm. Rustum Māntū was an influential Imāmiā Shīā. He was executed under the orders of Qāzi.²⁹

Another incident occurred in the village of Ārwat. The dispute aroused on the ownership of a mosque. The dispute, however, was settled by the personal intervention of *Ṣubahdār* not to the entire satisfaction of Sunnis as he handed over the mosque to the Shias.³⁰

Thus the sectarian feelings induced by Mirza Haidar Duglat kept the two sections divided throughout our period and during the Afghan rule, it further intensified. This mental dissention never allowed them to unite, and face the common foe jointly. The ultimate result was the loss of independence.

However, after the annexation the imperial policy was never aimed at the division of the masses. As a matter of fact strict steps were taken to put down such risings. The authorities were never prepared to tolerate any movement which posed threat to the internal security of the Empire. Even high influential persons were not forgiven.

Khawā ja Khāwand Muhmūd was externed from Kashmir in spite of his popularity in the *Ṣubah* and influence at the imperial Court.³¹ Being a preceptor of Jahān Ārā Begam and a close associate of the Mughal dynasty, the orders were not reversed. Similarly Aurangzēb did not forgive Saif Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān on account of their partiality towards one section. The imperial policy was to maintain law and order in the *Ṣubah* at any cost.

1. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 434-35
Bahāristāni-i-Shāhi, f. 60a, 78b-79a.
2. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 78b-79b.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 112-14.
3. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 220
See Chapter I, Section I.
4. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 434-35.
5. See Chapter I, Section I.
6. Malik of Chādoora were staunch supporters of the Chaks. Malik Haidar and his brother served Yousf Shah even in Hindustan during his exile. Malik Haidar *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 214-16, *Bahāristāni-i-Shāhi*, f. 212a.
7. Malik Haidar, Malik Ali and Aiba Chak were in Burdwān when Sher Afghan was killed. Aiba Chak also died on the spot. He held the mansab of 1000, *Iqbal-Nama Jahangiri*, III, 518-19 Kewal Ram, *Tarḳirat-ul-Umarā*, f. 15. Malik Haidar was only injured. But after the death of Sher Afghan the Malikhs rushed to the help of Mehrunnisa the future Nūr jahān. When she entered the harem the Malikhs were fabulously rewarded. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 214-16. *Bahāristāni-i-Shāhi*, f. 212a.
8. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 214.
11. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 124.
See also the Inscription on the main gate of Jamīā Mas jid, Srinagar.
12. Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 216
See also the Inscription on the gate of Jamīā Mas jid of Srinagar.
13. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 267-8.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138
Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 287-88.
14. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 267-8.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138
15. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 267-8
Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 287-88.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 138.
16. Charārī-Sharif is a town 28 miles in the south-west of Srinagar where the saint was buried after his death.
17. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 287-8.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 165.
18. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 287-8.
19. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 288. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
20. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 288. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
21. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 291-92
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.

22. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 291-2.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175-176.
 Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 175a.
23. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175
24. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, ff. 131a-b.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 91a.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 175.
25. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, ff. 131a-b.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 91a. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.
26. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 92a. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 175.
27. *Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri*, trans, Sarkar, p. 69
Ruq'āt-i-Ālamgiri, p. 31. ed. M.A. Rahman, Kanpur.
Akham-Ālamgiri, Inayat Khan, f. 211a.:
 Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU.,
 Aligarh.
28. Had these noble been motivated by religious sentiments execution of Abul
 Shakoor, his son, son-in-law was sufficient, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 92b.
29. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 97a, 98b.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 189
30. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, pp. 284-85.
 This mosque was captured by Sunnis earlier,
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 163.
31. *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50, 80.
 See also Naqashbandi Silsilah for details in this Chapter..

II. SŪFI SILSILAHS

RISHI ORDER

Islam was introduced in the *Ṣubah* through a number of preachers and by the middle of 14th century Muslim Rule was established in the kingdom. By this period the entire Middle East, Spain and almost whole of subcontinent was brought under the sway of Muslim Rule. Coming into contact with the major religions of world philosophy did undergo a tremendous change. Many *Ṣūfi* orders were founded in order to provide psychological relief to the afflicted humanity. When Islam found its way into this kingdom, the *Ṣūfi* orders had already achieved systematisation, organisation and elaboration of ideological concepts and code of ethics. But as elsewhere mystic theosophy could not absolve itself of the essentials of the assimilation of local phenomenon. The cultural and social interaction with the local traditions made at sometimes queer expression. The influence of the Shaiva ideology resulted in the foundation of an indigenous mystic order. The founder of this order was Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Rīshī.¹ Due to his efforts and favourable circumstances the order gained adherence in almost the entire kingdom. Its development was a sort of social protest against the committed '*Ulamā*.² The order was highly influenced by Shaivite philosophy, and in the course of time the role of '*Ulamāi-Dahar* (the worldly-minded theologians) drifted them towards asceticism.³ They preferred to live a life of ascetics and had no charm in the worldly affairs. They abandoned marriage and moved from village to village.⁴ They preferred to live on dry vegetables and fruits rather than taking up a luxurious life. They did not eat meat and did not marry.⁵ They put on a loose long typical type of a dress.^{5a} In the course of time they even did not take the basic fundamentals of Islam into consideration, and had legitimized so many heresies.⁶ They did not take into consideration what is moral and what is immoral.⁷ According to their thinking the external forms of religion like prayers and fasts were essential for those who were not perfect. Most of them had become miracle-mongers, and as such they interpreted dreams and displayed miracles, and at the same time most of them were devoid of religious and mystic knowledge.^{7a}

There were more than two thousand Rishis living during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir,⁸ Gouhar Sūfi,⁹ Wāhid Sufi,¹⁰ Ahala Rishi

Baba,¹¹ Ropi Rishi Baba, Nand Rishi disciple of Hardy Rishi, Netji Rishi, Pāim Rishi, Āwat Rishi a disciple of Lachan Rishi and Pasti Rishi disciple of Babā Hanif-ud-Dīn were some of the famous saints of the order.¹²

The ascetic and shaivite approach of Rīshī order was not the correct answer to the expansion of the Shīā ideology, which was gaining momentum on account of patronage of the Chaks. Therefore, the people in general supported various *Ṣūfi* orders but Naqashbandi in particular to face the dynamic personality of Shama-ud-Din Irāqi, his son Dāniyāl and their followers. The new trends at the imperial Court, were also posing a challenge to the traditional muslim thought. The 'Ulamā on the other hand wanted to retain the control of the imperial policy. The people in general withheld their support to the order on account of their inclination towards heterodox Islamic thought. Besides there were inherent defects in the order too. It was not organized like other *Ṣūfi* orders. They had neither khanqahs nor places for congregation where the new entrants could have received instructions. Thus under such pressures the order which was already in disorganized shape collapsed and disintegrated during our period. It could not withstand the social forces inherent in the *Suḥrawardiyyā*, *Naqashbandi*, *Chishtiyā* and *Qadiri* orders which were more or less systematically organized and close to the well-received Muslim thought.

THE SUḤRAWARDI ORDER:

This *silsilah* was introduced and reorganized in the *Ṣubah* by Sayyid Jamāl-ud-dīn,¹³ roughly in the late 16th century, but Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi was in body and spirit its real founder in the valley.¹⁴

Sheikh Hamza was son of Baba Ḥsmān Raina, descendants of Chandarbansi Rajputs.¹⁵ He was born in 900 A.H./A.D. 1494. According to the tradition of the time he received primary education in his own village Tujar. He was yet in his tender age, when he attended the *Madrasah*, Dārul-Shafā of Bābā Ismāil Kubravi.¹⁶ He had a chance to learn at the feet of Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn Bukhārī who happened to be in Srinagar for a period of six months.¹⁷ But theology, mystic philosophy, and logic were taught by Bābā Ismāil. Bābā Ismāil was himself a follower of Kubravi order.¹⁸

Sheikh Hamza was excommunicated from Srinagar by Gāzi Shah Chak.¹⁹ But these restrictions were no impediments to his religious zeal. After the death of Gāzi Shah Chak he returned to Srinagar and gave instructions to his disciples in the *khānqāh* of Bābā Ismāil.²⁰ He died in 1576.²¹

Sheikh Hamza had a chain of accomplished scholars as his disciples descending down to ages. Baba Dāūd Khāki, Baba Naṣib-ud-Din Gāzi, Sheikh Āli Raina, Khawāja Hasan Qāri, Mullah Ahmed Chāgūli Khawāja Mīr Zooni Rishi, Hardī Bābā, and Āli Teli were his favourite disciples.²² Baba Khāki and Baba Naṣibuddīn rose to the height of renown and received homage from hosts of people.

During our period the order underwent certain modifications. It counted highly learned personalities among its votaries, but the influence of Rishi ascetics became dominant. The *ʿUlama* followed worldly pursuits and as such the order began to disintegrate. As a matter of fact it had ceased to function as a *Suhrawardiya* order soon after the death of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. His disciples more or less had their following in rural areas, and were known as *Makhdoom Babas*.²³ The *Bābās* were patronised by the Mughals. Grants in land and grain were lavished on the *khānqāh* of Sheikh Hamza for the maintenance of the disciple and the descendants of the saint.²⁴ The *silsilah* was comparatively well organised and *khānqāhs* were built where the saints gave instruction to the new entrants, and imparted religious education to the children.²⁵

NAQASHBANDI ORDER :

The order was introduced into the *Ṣubah* by Khawāja Baba Wali of Khwarizm in 1550-91. He was himself a disciple of Sheikh Husain Khwarizm.²⁶ Baba Wali came to Kashmir in 1590 and settled in the *Khānqāh* of Sayyid Āli Hamādāni. He attracted large crowds and in a shorter period became very popular.²⁷ The year 1592 was a period of turmoil and there was a revolt. The rebels approached him with a request as to lead the rebellion. He not only rejected the offer but organized the people against the rising. Meanwhile, Yādgar Mirza had accepted the leadership and Bābā was poisoned under his orders in 1592.²⁸ After his death the mantle fell on Bāqi Billah, it was Bāqi Billah who introduced and organised *Naqashbandi silsilah* in India.²⁹ Bāqi Billah remained in Kashmir for two years only, and then returned to Delhi where he died on 20th November 1603.³⁰

Naqashbandi silsilah was an offshoot of *silsilah Khwājān*. It was basically organized by Ahmad 'Aṭa Yasvi. After his death it was revitalized by Khwājā Bahā-ud-dīn Naqashband, hereafter the *silsilah* was called *Naqashbandi silsilah*.³¹

But the *silsilah* flourished under the guidance of Khwaja Khāwand Mahamūd. He infused new vigour into the *silsilah* and reactivated and reorganized the order in the *Ṣubah*. On account of his piety and profound knowledge, he exercised considerable influence over the people.³² Khāwand Mahmud was son of Mir Sayyid Sharif Khawājā a descendant of Alā-ud-Din 'Aṭār.³³ He was an eminent disciple of Khwājā Bahā-Din Naqashband. Khwaja Khāwand Mahmūd was himself a disciple of Abū Ishāq Dahbēdi.³⁴ Khwājā built a *khānqah* in Srinagar where he carried on his work enthusiastically. He strongly opposed the *Shia* doctrine and under his influence the *Shia* spirit was dampened.³⁵ He sent a similar mission to Little Tibet which comprised Mulla Abdul Hasan, and Dāūd Kashmiri to check the expansion of the Nūrbakhshī order and to propagate the *Naqashbandi silsilah*.³⁷ Khwaja Khāwand Mahmūd was exiled from Kashmir in 1636, and he settled in Lahore. His son, Khwājā Moinuddīn, carried on his mission in Srinagar after the departure of the Khwājā.³⁸ Khwājā Moin-ud-Dīn was tutored by his father, and in scholarship he even surpassed him. He had compiled a few books besides the *Mirāt-i-Tuyibā*, biography of his father and earned among his contemporaries wide publicity.³⁹ Mullah Abdul Fetah, Mulla Muhammad Yousf, Mulla Abdunnabi, Mulla Sheikh Ahmed Mufti were his close associates.⁴⁰ They jointly prepared a treatise known as *Futāwāi-Naqashbandi* under his guidance.⁴¹

AKHWAND MULLA KAMAL :

Mullah Kamal was a famous saint of the order. He was a disciple of Khawaja Abdul Shahid Naqashbandi a descendant of Hazrat 'Ubaidullah Ahrari.⁴² He left Kashmir and settled at Syalkot, and later he left for Lahore. He died in 1699.⁴³ Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Maulāna Abdul Hakim Syālkoti were his close associates.⁴⁴

KHWĀJĀ HAIDAR NATINOO :

He was son of Khwājā Feroz. Feroz was himself a disciple of Abdu-Shahid Naqashbandi.⁴⁵ Khwājā Haidar was initiated in the order by Baba Naṣībuddin. Later he became disciple of Maulana Jouhar, but

achieved perfection under the guidance of Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi.⁴⁶ He remained for a long time in his *khānqah* but after some time returned to his native land, Kashmir.⁴⁷ He had a large number of disciples, and Mulla Abdul Hakim became very famous.⁴⁸ Khwāja Haidar died in 1649.⁴⁹

MULLA HUSAIN KHABĀZ :

Mulla was a disciple of Sheikh Hasan Qāri, but after his departure Mecca, he attended the *khānqah* of Abdu-Shahīd Ahrāri. He initiated the Mulla into the *Naqashbandi* order.⁵⁰ He sternly criticized the *Wajūdi* philosophy, and wrote a treatise *Hidāya-tul-Āma* to accord a logical rejoinder to them.⁵¹ Mulla Husain died in 1643/44.⁵² The following few lines give us an insight into his philosophy.⁵³

Besides the above mentioned saints, Shah Qāsim Haqāni, Hayāt Beg and Ha ji Mustafa Roomi were also votaries of the *Naqashbandi silsilah*.

The *Naqashbandi* order flourished in the *Subah* during the Mughal rule. Its sphere was further widened by the efforts of Sirhindi saints. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Sheikh 'Abdul Ahad Sirhindi, Sheikh M'asum Raza had a large following in Kashmir.⁵⁴ They visited Kashmir from time to time and most influential family of the *Muftis* became their staunch followers.⁵⁵

Akhūn Malla Husain Khabāz, Khwāja Sādiq Soodh, Maulana Abdul Rashid Zargar, Maulana Haider Bach and Mahdi 'Ali Sopori were initiated by the Sirhindi saints into the *naqashbandi silsilah*.⁵⁶

THE CHISHTI SILSILAH :

Like the *Naqashbandi* order, this *silsilah* was introduced during the Mughal rule. Accordingly it flourished in our period, but it was not so popular as the *Naqashbandi* order.

It was Sheikh Yāqūb Ṣarfī, who organised the *silsilah* in the *Subah*.⁵⁷ Sheikh Yaqub was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganāi. He was borne in 1520-21 and died in June, 1595.⁵⁸ He was very intelligent and had a sharp memory. He committed the holy Quran to memory when he was only seven years of age.⁵⁹ On attaining maturity he left for India and widely toured, India, Central Asia, the holy cities of Islam, Madina

and Mecca, in the company of Sheikh Salim Chishti in 1556-57.⁶⁰ Before joining Sheikh Salim, he had already got an opportunity to attend the *khānqah* of Sheikh Husain Khwarism.⁶¹ He learnt *Hadis* from Sheikh Ha jar Sindhi.⁶² Sheikh Ṣarfi won the title of *Sheikh-i-Umam* on account of his profound knowledge and scholarship.⁶³ Even scholars like Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi learned *Hadis* from Sheikh Yaqūb Sarif.⁶⁴ Sheikh Yaqūb Sarfi had a large number of followers. Mir Ahmad was his favourite disciple and was declared his vicegerent and successor by the Sheikh.⁶⁵ Mir Ahmad lived a simple life, and possessed but one shirt.⁶⁶ Mir Ahmad was invited by Sultan Husain, Chief of Pakhli.⁶⁷ He built a *khānqah* also for the Mir. He died on 21st July, 1607.⁶⁸ Mir Hamza, son of Ha ji Murād,⁶⁹ Sheikh Mohammad Yousf,⁷⁰ Sheikh Mūsā Zaḥgīr, Mulla Hā ji Gaṇaī, Mulla Ha ji Bandi,⁷¹ Habibullah Noushahri and Mulla Tāhīr were some of the famous disciples of Ṣarfi.^{71a} These saints and scholars kept on initiating their own disciples in continuous process and thus the order continued to expand and flourish.

KUBRAVI ORDER :

Kubravi order was introduced soon after the establishment of Muslim Rule in Kashmir by Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadini.⁷² But the order had almost disintegrated by the end of 16th century. Baba Ismāil tried to reorganize and revitalise the *silsilah*, but it did not make much headway,⁷³ in the face of the growing popularity of the *Naqashbandi* order. Some of the *Kubravi* saints also became the adherents of *Naqashbandi silsilah*.⁷⁴

QADIRI SILSILAH :

This order was introduced by Sayyid Ismāil Shāmi into Kashmir during 1584-85.⁷⁵ The Sayyid was a disciple of Sayyid Mohammad Qādiri.⁷⁶ In Kashmir the Sayyid became a close friend of Baba Daūd Khāki.⁷⁷ On the request of the Sayyid, Baba Khāki placed Mir Nāzuk Qādiri under his tutorship.⁷⁸ Mir Nāzuk Qādiri surpassed his preceptor. Under the guidance of Mir Nāzuk Qādiri, the *silsilah* made tremendous development.⁷⁹ It was the Mir who revitalized and organized the order.⁸⁰ After his death, his son, Mir, Muhammad Yousf, took over the charge of the headship in 1614-15.⁸¹ He introduced *zikr-bil-jahar* in his daily performances like that prevalent in the *Kubravi silsilah*.⁸² Mir Muhammad Yousf was succeeded by his son, Mir Ali Muhammad Qadiri, in 1619.⁸³ Under his guidance the *silsilah* attained great eminence. He died in 1662-63.⁸⁴

During the reign of Shah jahan, *Qādiri Silsilah* reached its climax in Kashmir through the efforts of Mullā Shah Badakhshī, the preceptor of Dara Shukoh.⁸⁵

Mullā Shah Badakhshī, son of Akhwand Mulla Abdi, was a native of Araksaw, a village in Badakhshan.⁸⁶ His original name was Muhammed Shah, but in Kashmir he was known as Akhwand Mullah Shah Badakhshi.⁸⁷ After his migration from his native land he settled at Lahore where he was initiated into the order by Miyān Mir.⁸⁸ Mulla Shah spent winter at Lahore and summer in Kashmir, but after the death of Miyān Mir he permanently settled in Kashmir.⁸⁹ Dara Shukoh built a mosque and a *humām* for him within the walled city of Nāgar Nagar.⁹⁰

After his settlement in Kashmir, his relatives also came from Badakhshān and settled in Kashmir.⁹¹

Mullā Shah Badakhshi had great influence at the imperial Court. Dara Shukoh, and Jahan Ara Begam were his devoted disciples and he was highly respected by Shah jahan also.⁹² Wazier S'adullah Khān also counted among his followers.⁹³

On the conclusion of the war of succession, Mulla Shah Badakhshi became a victim of Aurangzeb's wrath.⁹⁴ In spite of his considerable influence, he was directed to leave Srinagar immediately on the receipt of the order.⁹⁵ He left the valley and settled in Lahore where he died in abject poverty.⁹⁶

Mulla Miskin Mughal, Mullah Shah Gadāi, Qāzi Sālih, Mulla Abdu-Nabi, Khwāja Hasan Bach, Qazi Abdul Rahim, and Khwāja Muhammad Amin Nawachoo, were his prominent disciples.⁹⁷

The Qādiri saints introduced Islam in the far-off regions of Kashtawār during the reign of Shah jahan.⁹⁸

Shah Farid-ud-Din a descendant of Mir Sayyid Abdul Qadir Gilani introduced Islam in Kashtawār. He was born in 1592-93, at Baghdad. He came to India during the reign of Shah jahan and remained at Agra and Delhi for some time.⁹⁹ During the same regim he left for Kashtawār and settled in the vicinity of Lakishmi Narain Temple.¹⁰⁰ His presence was soon felt and large crowds attended his meetings. Meanwhile Ra ja Jai Singh the chieftain of Kashtawār heard about the miracles of the saint. he attended his meetings. The Ra ja was so much

impressed by his piety and high learning that he embraced Islam under the title of Bakhtiyar Khan.¹⁰¹ Farid-ud-Din was succeeded by his son, Shah Asrar-ud-Din. He was brought up and initiated into the order by his father. Raja Kirat Singh who had succeeded Raja Jai Singh was also converted to Islam under the name of Sa'adat Yar Khan.¹⁰² After the death of Shah Asrar-ud-Din, the mission continued to function under the able guidance of Shah Ambiyā-Din and Shah Badr-ud-Din.¹⁰³ The latter had a number of disciples in the valley also.¹⁰⁴ He died in Kashmir and his body was taken to Kashtawār and buried there.¹⁰⁵

It appears the conversion of the chieftain had been instrumental in the spread of Islam in this region.¹⁰⁶

NURBAKHSI SILSILAH :

The order though in the process of decline in the period, may be mentioned here as its postulates betrayed mystic learning. We have also discussed it above in the context of Shia-Sunni problem. The order was introduced into the *Subah* by Mir Shamas-ud-Din Irāqi.^{106a} As a matter of fact, it was basically a mystic order, but had close affinity to the Shiā ideology and gradually it came to be associated too closely to the Shiite creed. Irāqi's son, Dāniyāl, introduced this order in Askardoo and Kargil.¹⁰⁷ All this development took place before the Mughal annexation.

After the conquest of Mirza Haidar, the movement received a setback and its strongholds were destroyed.¹⁰⁸ The movement meanwhile showed disinclination to be a mystic order and turned into a political movement and as such could not withstand the pressure of other political groups.¹⁰⁹

After the fall of Chak rule in 1586, the Malik of Chādoora were the adherents and advocates of this sect. During the reign of Jahangir, the khanqah of Hasanābad and Zadibal were rebuilt,¹¹⁰ but there was no further expansion, only some followers of this sect. lived in a few pockets of the valley and a small number lived in Askardoo and Kargil.¹¹¹

Before concluding the Chapter, we may take notice of the developments which took place within the Hindu population.

By the end of 14th century, there was en-mass conversion and the only section which resisted was those of the Brahmans. They

continued to enjoy the benefits of the offices as this was the only literate section. Even during our period they enjoyed those benefits without any hinderance.¹¹² Therefore, there were no substantial changes in the socio-economic life of this section. So far as the philosophy of Hinduism is concerned, it had already achieved a high level of soundness and perfection but its further development was restrained.¹¹³ The Mughal period, therefore, did not witness any change in the Hindu ideology, Ādit Dās, Rishi Pir Pandit, and Roopa Bhawāni, attained tremendous popularity in Hindu philosophy with remarkable aptitude to synthesise the ideological concepts of Hinduism and Islam. Adit Dās joined the imperial Court soon after the annexation. We don't get any further information about him. He died in 1594-95.¹¹⁴

RISHI PIR PANDITH :

He was born in 1637 in a fairly orthodox Brahmin family.¹¹⁵ From his very childhood, he was inclined towards religion. After attaining maturity, he learned Yogic philosophy from Krishnakār.¹¹⁶ Rishi Pir was a close associate of Akhwand Mullā Shah.¹¹⁷ The impact of his teachings was quite considerable. But in the course of time he turned to be a miracle monger and taken to luxurious worldly life.¹¹⁸

ROOPA BHAWANI :

Roopa was born in 1625. The date of birth given by the biographer of Roopa is 1628.^{118a} Her father, Pandit Mahadev Dhar, was a respectable person of his community.¹¹⁹ Roopa was married in her tender age which proved a failure. She was exposed to tremendous hardships which ultimately pushed her into mystic lore. She was a pupil of Shah Ṣādiq Qalandar.¹²⁰ Her poetry is full of mystic experiences. She died at a ripe age of 96 years in 1721.¹²¹

The impact of these social and religious movements on the society was of quite considerable importance. On one side Islam made its headway in the far flung areas of Kashtawār, Rajouri, Noushahra, and Little and Greater Tibet, and on the other side it enriched the indigenous culture. Art, architecture and literature of Kashmir flourished and consequently a new social order evolved. We have already mentioned that the state policy was never based on a partisan attitude. So long as the interests of state were not jeopardised no action was taken against any section or individual, but

there was vigilance, and resistance and chastisement if any section or individual threatened the stability of the Empire. Khwāja Khāwānd Mahmood, Mulla Husain Sabzwāri, Mulla Shah Badakhshi and similar other saints were externed from Kashmir just because their presence was not looked with favour as posing a threat to the interests of the state.¹²² The Mughal emperors, as a matter of fact, followed a liberal policy and the individual liberty was never threatened.¹²³ It is because of such attitude that various religious and social movements flourished during this period. These sufi movements brought together various fragments of the society. The mutual understanding among various ideological groups developed and a new class or group of free thinkers came into existence. This class represented all the sections of the society. Mullah Shah Badakhshi,¹²⁴ Mulla Husain Sabzwāri,¹²⁵ Shah Ṣādiq Qalandar,¹²⁶ Mulla Tāhir Ganāis¹²⁷ Mulla Mohsin,¹²⁸ Roopa Bhawāni, Rishi Pir Pandith,¹²⁹ and Sheikh Akmal-ud-Din,¹³⁰ were the advocates of this ideology. Ibrāhīm Hakāk and Yousf Diwāna were also exponents of the free thought.¹³¹ They believed in the unity of God and equality of all the religions. They had no bias against any religion. Mullah Shah, Shah Ṣādiq Qalander, Mulla Mohsin Fāni, Ibrāhīm Hakāk and Yousf Diwānā enrolled disciples from all sections of the society.¹³² Sheikh Akmal-ud-Din Kāmil, Ha ji Aslam, Salim, and Mulla Tāhir, have propounded their ideology through their poetry.¹³³

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 223-24.
2. Bābā Naṣibuddin Gāzi, 'Noor Nāmā' ff. 215, 18-219-25b.
3. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*, tr. N. Elias, p. 436.
4. Faizi, *Akbar-Nāmā*, f. 215b.
5. *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqara*, ff. 62-63. The *Tazkiras* of the saints are full of such examples. When the saints lived for days together on such things. See *Rishi Nāmā*, Bābī Naṣibuddin Gāzi, etc. etc. See also *A.N.*, III, pp. 551-52. *A' in*, II, p. 170, *Tuzuk*, p. 301.

- 5a. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, f. 173a.
6. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, p. 436-37.
7. *Ibid.*
- 7a. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, p. 436; *A' in*, II, p. 170; *Tuzuk*, 301.
8. *A' in*, II, p. 170, *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
Abul Fazl considers them Brahmins, which is not a fact. Though they had ascetic tendencies, but they were not Hindus. See Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 223-224. Miss Āzra Nizāmi in her article on Abul Fazl in *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol III, pp. 125, has followed his statement and has not taken note of either Jarrets translation of *A' in II*, or Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 274-5.
9. *A.N.*, III, p. 547. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahangiri*, II, p. 410.
10. *A.N.*, III, pp. 549-51.
11. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 118.
12. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 62-63. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 133-34.
13. The origin and development of the order had taken place a long way before the establishment of Mughal Rule in Kashmir. Therefore, no stress had been laid on the origin or development of this order. For the details, see K.A. Nizāmi, *Some aspects of Religion & Politics during the 13th Century*, pp. 220-29.
Tazkira Mullā Ali Raina, ff. 280a-281b.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 106.
14. R.K. Parmu is incorrect in his statement that the Sheikh was founder of Kubravi Silsilah, *A History of Muslim Rule*, p. 434.
15. Mulla Ali Raina, *Tazkiratul-Ārifin*, ff. 280-81.
Šābir Afāqis, article in *Hunar-u-Murdum*, Nos 112-13, Bahman, 1350, pp. 73-74.
16. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, f. 143a.
17. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 39. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.
18. *Khawāriqus-Sālikīn*, f. 143a.
19. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 58; Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 534.
20. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.
21. The author of *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, gives the date of his death 974/1567 which is not correct. His famous *Waṣīyat Nāma* preserved in S.P. Museum, Srinagar, bears his signatures. This document bears the date Jamādi I, 984/1576, 17th May; therefore, his death might have taken place after this date. The chronogram of Baba Dāūd Khāki supports our assumption, Šābir Afāqī, "Hunar-o-Murdum, Nos. 112-13, p. 73". P.N.K. Bamzai, gives 1586 his expiry date, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 534.
22. See Chapter VII, Section II, See also Sabir Afaqi "Hunar-o-Murdum," Nos 112-13, p. 73.
23. Lawrance, *The valley of Kashmir*, p. 221.

24. See Chapter II, Section IV.
25. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 39-40b, 61a.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 106-7, 121, 122.
26. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 109.
27. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 109, Rizvi, A.A., *Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, 186n.
28. A.N., III, p. 617
29. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, pp. 185-86
30. A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, pp. 86
31. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 49-54a.
Nizami, K.A., *Naqashbandi influence on Mughal Rulers and Politics*, cyclostyled article in the seminar, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.,
32. *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni*, f. 599.
33. Qazvini, *Bādshah Namā*, III, ff. 417-8
34. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, ff. 417-8, *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 49a-54b.
36. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50a, 80a.
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, p. 183.
37. A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, p. 183.
38. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50, 80
Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 268
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 167-8.
39. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, ff. 50, 80.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 168
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, p. 183.
40. *Tuhfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 50; *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 168
41. Ibid
42. Qazvini, *Bādshah-Namā*, III, f. 419
43. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 119
44. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 119
Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, p. 419
45. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 143-44.
46. *Tabaqāt-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 310a
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 144
47. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 144
48. Mir Ghulam Ali Bilgrami, *Ma'asirul-Karām*, I, p. 204.
49. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 144
50. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 132
51. A MS of the treatise is available in the Research Library, Srinagar.
52. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 132

53. *Hidāyatul-Āma*, MSS f. 221. پس شریعت محمد بن طریقت است و حقیقت محمد بن شریعت. درخت میوه معرفت را که
میوه و اصل است، چشما از آن حاصل است..... و اصل جهانان مستطعم از آن.
54. *Tuzuk*, p. 308 *Tahfat-ul-Faqara*, f. 77b
Gouhar-i-Ālam, pp. 289-5. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 132, 134, 166
55. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqara*, f. 51
56. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 132, 134, 166.
57. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
Futuhāt-i-Kubravi, pp. 223-24.
58. *Muntakhibut Tawarikh*, II, p. 403, III, 148
His date of birth in *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110, is 978/1570-71, which appears to be a clerical mistake.
See also Abdul Hamid Irfāni, *Irān-i-Sagīr*, p. 164.
59. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
Futuhāt-i-Kubravi, ff. 220a-b.
60. Badaūni, *Muntakhib-ut-Tawārikh*, III, II
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11
61. *A' in*, II, p. 175 *Insha* 891/5528, f. 160a
Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, AMU.,
Aligarh, Badaūni, *Muntakhibul-Tawārikh*, III, pp. 143-42.
62. *Insha*, 891/5528, f. 116a. Sulaiman Collection,
M.A. Library, AMU., Aligarh.
63. Badaūni, *Mantakhibut Tawārikh*, II, p. 393.
A' in, II, p. 175
64. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 110
A.A. Rizvi, *Revivalist Movement in Northern India*,
p. 206
G.M.D. Sufi, *kashir*, II, p. 363. For details of his literary works, see Chapter VII.
65. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 120
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 130
71. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 128
- 71a. *Ibid.*
72. The contention of Noorullah Shostari is that Mir Sayyid Ali was a Shia, *Majālisul Moominīn*, 49 which is not born but out by facts. See Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Un Sultans*, p. 58.
73. R.K. Parmu is not supported by contemporary evidence that Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi was the founder of Kubravi order in Kashmir. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 434, See Supra, 13n of this Section.

74. Sheikh-Mūsā Baldīrī was a famous *Kabravi* Saint of his time. After his return from Mecca he joined the *Naqashbandi Silsilah*. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 130-1
75. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, ff. 47ab. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 105-6.
76. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 105
77. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 47b.
78. Mir Nāzūk Qādīrī was a descendant of Qāzī Moosa Shahīd, and a great grandson of Qāzī Mir Ali, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 126.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 126
79. *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 48a.
80. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 43. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 126-27.
81. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 48a. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 128.
82. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 48a.
83. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nama*, III, f. 424.
Sakinatul-Aulia, p. 167
84. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 128, 163
85. *Sakinatul-Aulia*, p. 167 Mohammad Sādiq Khān,
Tarikh-i-Shahjahāni, wa 'Alamgiri, f. 110a.
86. *Sakinatul-Awalia*, p. 152 *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam*,
f. 2. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 6a.
87. *Sakinatul-Awalia*, p. 152.
Tuhfatul-Fuqarā, f. 41b.
88. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 424.
Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, pp. 386-87
Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 6b.
Tahfatul-Fuqarā, ff. 41b, 42a.
89. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 424.
Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 6b.
90. Tawakul Beg, Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, f. 18a.
Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 41b-42a. The mosque is in ruins now. See Chapter VII, and the Plate.
91. *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam*, f. 4. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 42a.
92. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nama*, II, p. 207. See also *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam* and
Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, ff. 29a, 44b.
93. Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 207.
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 162
94. *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 42a.
95. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 42a. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 162.
96. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, ff. 13b, 24a, 28b, 37a. *Tahfatul-Fuqarā*, f. 42b. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654.
97. Tawakul Beg Kulābi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhi*, ff. 13b, 37a
98. *Tahfat-ul-Fuqarā*, f. 42b. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654. For a detailed study read article in "Hamara Abab Mashahir Number, 1976-77, Ishrat Kashmiri, pp. 79-93."

99. *Rouzatul-Arifin*, f. 3a. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654. According to Dr Sufi, Shah Farid was born in 1000 A.H./1551 A.D., Kashmir, Vol II, pp. 116.
100. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654.
101. *Rouzatul-Arifin*, f. 15a. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654. Sabir Afaqi, "Hunar-o-Murdum", Nos. 112-13. Bahman 1374, p. 89
- Fedric Drew, *Northern Barrier of India*, pp. 82-83.
102. *Rouzatul-Arifin*, f. 15a. Hutichson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, II, p. 654. F. Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, pp. 82, 119-20, See also Chapter I, Section II,
103. *Rouzatul-Arifin*, f. 13a-b.
104. *Tahfatul-Fuqārā*, ff. 13ab. *Rouzatul-Arifin*, p. 17a.
105. *Rouzatul-Arifin*, p. 17a.
106. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, I, p. 349.
- 106a *Firishta*, II, p. 350. A' in, II, p. 185.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 283-88
107. Nūrullah Shostari, *Majāli-sul-Mūminin*, p. 49.
108. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi*, ff. 119a-120. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.
Ed. N. Elias, pp. 431-2
109. See Chapter V, Section I. See also Census Report, 1891, p. 17 of J&K State.
110. See Chapter V, Section I, See Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 213b-214a
111. A' in, II, p. 175. See also "Census Report of 1891. p. 17 of J&K State."
112. See Chapter II, Section IV
113. See "Indian Culture and Social Life etc., pp. 152-228," by Prof Muhammad Habib in *Politics & Society during the Early Medieval Period*. Vol I. Ed. K.A. Nizami, People's Publishing House, 1974.
114. A.N., III, p. 662. A'in, I, p. 166. See also (Blouchmann translation) of A'in-i-Akbari, p. 608.
115. Birbai Kachroo, *Majmu-ul-Tawārikh*, p. 216a.
Koul Bri j Krishan, *Bahari, Gulshan Kashmir*, Vol II, p. 44.
See also Bri j Premi, Dr., Pir Pandith Pādshah, "Hamara-Abab, Mashahir Number, 1976, 77, pp. 94-109"
Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 500
116. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 222-3.
117. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 500
118. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 500
- 118a Koul, Pandhith Rughnath, *Sawānih Umri Roopa Bhawāni*, 1772. Bikrami, pp. 7-11. See also article of Moti Lal Saqi in *Hamara Adab, Mashahir Number*, 1976-77, pp. 62-78.

119. Prof. Hajini, *Kashir Shairi*, p. 19.
120. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 499
121. Prof Hajini, *Kashir Sha'iri*, p. 19
122. See Chapter V, Section II.
123. Angus Maddison, *Class Structure and Economic Growth, India and Pakistan since the Mughals*, p. 15, London, 1970.
124. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliā*, pp. 151-3. *Risāla Jahān Āra Begam*, ff. 6-7. See also Section II, Part 'B' of this Chapter.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 161-2.
125. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 190.
126. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 181
127. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 170
128. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 170. Šabir Āfaqī "Hunar-o-Murdm", pp. 112-13. Isfandiyar 1374, pp. 79-85". The author of the *Cambridge History of Islam*, Volume 2A, p. 58 states that Mulla Mohsin was a zoroastrian, which is not correct.
129. See above footnotes, 115 and 118
130. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 224.
131. *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, pp. 216-17.
132. Ibid.
133. The following couplet of Kamil throws some light on the ideology of the author

چوں بدیدیم دو جہاں سوادلو جہند + چشیم پوشیدم دہر - ہر دو نظر بکشت ادم
اکمل الدین یقین ہمیں دارد - مذہبش وحدت است دیکتائی

CHAPTER : VIII

LEARNING AND LITERATURE

Since the very ancient times Kashmir had attained fame as an important land for the promotion of learning and literature. It had produced historians like Kalhan, Srivara, Ksemendar, Ratnakar, and Jonarj; philosophers like Abhinavagupta, Utpala and Somanand, dramatists like Abhinavagupta and Udbhatta.¹ But the Brahmans had exercised the monopoly to impart education. The advent of Islam lifted the viel and gates of knowledge were thrown open to the common people. It is true that neither the Sultans nor the Mughals created a separate department of education at the centre or in the province. But the liberal patronage of the Kings and nobles and the tremendous efforts of the Şufis, saints, scholars and theologians afforded impetus in boosting the remarkable development of education by opening and expanding *madarsas*.²

The mosque and *khānqāhs* virtually became the seats of learning.³ Though the primary aim was the training of the pupils in religious literature, Quranic phonetics, theology and logic. The gates were widened for the education of all and sundry without distinction of caste or social status. Consequently, a considerable number of people were able to read and write, which in the long run led to the development of literature.⁴ The Mughal rule ushered in a period of great literary and educational activity. It would be apt to make brief notices of some of the luminaries of the period.

These famous teachers were Baba Naşib-ud-Din Gāzi, Sheikh Ismāil Chishti, Khwāja Hasan Qāri, Khwāja Ishāq Qāri, Khwāja Haidar Natinoo, Mulla Abdul Razāq Bandey, Baba Şāleh, Khwāja Qāsim Tirmizi, Mullah Muhammad Afzal, Abdul Rahim Fafoo, Mulla Tahir Gani, and Muhammad Zamān Nafiā, Khwāja Hasan Tamul,^{4a} Maulana Kamāl brother of Maulana Jamāl,^{4b} Sheikh Jawhar Nānt,^{4c} etc. etc.

SHEIKH ISMĀIL CHISHTI

Sheikh Ismāil was a pupil of Maulana Jamāl. After his death, he attended the *khanqah* of Sheikh Nūrullah, a saint of Chishti order.⁵ He had a privilege of being disciple of Mir Abdullah Bukhāri. After his return to Kashmir, he opened a school and imparted education for a

period of twelve years. He died a few years after Mughal conquest of Kashmir.⁶

KHWĀJA HASAN QĀRI AND ISHĀQ QĀRI

These two scholars were brothers; on account of their command over the Quranic phonetics they were called *Qāri*. They were the disciples of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi and Sheikh Yāqūb Sharfi. Sheikh Hasan took to the teaching profession for a long time. Ishāq Qāri too served after his brother's death in the same *Madrasa*.⁷

MULLAH HUSAIN (ALIAS HĀJI GANĀI)

He lived in the vicinity of Jama 'Mas jid, Srinagar. He was a teacher in the *Khānqāh* of Malik Jallāl-ud-Din Thākoor. This school continued to function till the establishment of the Sikh rule.⁸ (1819-1846).

MULLA ABDUL RAZĀQ BANDEY

Abdul Razāq was nephew of Mulla Fāzil. He remained in Kabul for long time as a teacher. He adopted the same profession in Kashmir after his departure from Kabul.⁹

BABA ŠĀLEH:

He was a disciple of Baba Našīb. Baba lived in a cave at village Gogna for a long period where he kept on giving lessons to his pupils.¹⁰

MULLA ABDŪL RAHĪM

He had extensively toured in Bukhara, Samarqand, Bhagdad and India. During the rest of his life he remained in the Naqashbandi *khānqāh* as a teacher for a long period till his death in 1694-95.¹¹

MOHAMMAD ZAMĀN NAFIĀ:

He was the brother of Mulla Tāhir Ganāi and a pupil of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. He died in 1709-19.¹²

1. Suresh Chandra Banerji, *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir*, pp. 3-35.
P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 549.
2. Tawakul Beg Kulabi, *Nuskha-i-Ahwal-i-Shahi*, ff. 24a, 37a, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 120, 121, 135, 143.
3. Dāūd Mishkawātī, *Asrār-ul-Abrār*, 221a, 246a-47b.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 143, 146, 177, 192 and 207.
Nibod Kumar Sahay, *Education and learning under the Great Mughals*, pp. 6-7, 32-33.
4. Sabir Āfāqī, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, No 113," Isfandiyar 1350, p. 68. P.N. Chopra, *Life & letters Under the Mughals* pp. 140-1.
- 4a. *Asrār-ul-Abrār*, 221a.
- 4b. *Ibid*, 246a-47b.
- 4c. *Ibid*, 236b.
5. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 120.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 121.
Sheikh Hasan was buried in village, Shiva, in the Zainagir parganah. See also Chapter VI, Section II.
8. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 143, 282
9. *Khawāriq-us-Salikin*, f. 132a.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 144.
10. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 146.
11. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 235.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 192.
12. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 207

The Kashmiri language was spoken by a considerable majority of people spread over from Thana to the outskirts of Pakhli.¹ The origin of the language can be traced to as early a period as twelfth century. Pandith Kalhan has also used a number of Kashmiri words in Raja Tarangini.² Kashmiri or Koshur belongs to the Dardic group of languages.³ In spite of such a remote antiquity it remained a spoken dialect only. The best works on philosophy, history, science, art, and literature were produced in Sanskrit and later in Persian.⁴ It is quite interesting to note that the lyrics of Lala Ishwari, and Sheikh Nūr-ud-Din Rishi, were written in Sharda or in Persian script, no script of Koshur was evolved in the valley.

There were presumably two important factors which hampered the growth of Kashmiri as a written language. Before the advent of Islam, Sanskrit was the official language and the religious scriptures were also available in the same language. Therefore, it was advantageous to be learnt, both for religious merit and economic consideration; therefore, the elite did not pay any attention towards the development for a natural script of Koshur. Subsequently, the advent of Islam in the Subah threw open the gates for Ṣūfis, saints, scholars and adventurers. They substituted the Brahmans and eventually Persian became the official language. It continued to flourish and thrive throughout the medieval period. The Persian speaking people had as a natural consequence, no taste for the local dialect. Therefore, the constant royal patronage to Persian, did not allow Koshur to grow beyond a spoken dialect. However, it still remains a fact that even under such circumstances, it did not die out. But the influence of Persian appears to have increased, and a large number of Persian words side by side the Sanskrit were retained.⁵ But in the hilly pockets of Kashtawār and Bānihāl, it remained to some extent unaffected,⁶ with a profound influence of Sanskrit.⁷ In the north western regions of Dachunkhawura, and Karnāva the impact of Shina continued to be dominant.⁸

Some of the lyrical works of Haba Khatūn, Habibullah Noushahri, Roopa Bhawāni, Ṣāhib Koul and Mirza Akmal-ud-Din Badakhshi have survived to this date in Persian script. These were composed during the Mughal period but the manuscripts at our disposal are of later date. A short account of some of these literary figures would be relevant here to mention.

HABBA KHĀTOON (1551-1606):

It is strange that contemporary sources are silent about the marriage of Habba Khātoon with Yousf Shah Chak.⁹ However, it is beyond doubt that the lyrics attributed to her are of an innovation in the Kashmiri literature. She was the pioneer of "Lol" Love Songs. Her poetry is full of anguish and sadness, of an afflicted heart.¹⁰

HABIBULLAH NOUSHAHRI (1555-1617)

He was a profound scholar of Persian.¹¹ He has composed poems both in Persian and Kashmiri. He was a contemporary of Habba Khatoon. Probably both composed poetical works about the same time.¹² As a matter of fact both of them were trend setters in Kashmiri poetry. Habibullah was representing both the Divine and the profane love in his sufistic poetry and the "Lol" songs.¹³

ROOPABHAWĀNĪ ALIAS ALAK ISHWARĪ (1625-1721):

The poetess was born in a rich Brahman family. At an early age she was married to a Pandith, but the marriage proved an utter failure. She was driven to mystic faith.¹⁴ Her lyrics have a mystic touch¹⁵ expressed in Kashmiri with heavy weightage given to Sanskrit words which have been used extensively.¹⁶

ŚĀHIB KOUL D. 1642:

A contemporary of Roopa Bhawani reflects mystic lore in his lyrics and simultaneously exhibits deep influence of Shiva philosophy. He had also used Sanskrit words frequently.¹⁷

MIRZA AKMAL-UD-DIN (D. 1717)

He was a descendant of Abu Nu'aman Abū Hanifa. His ancestors had settled in Badakhshān, hence the epithet Badakhshi was attached to the names of their descendents.¹⁸ His parents came to India during the reign of Akbar. In his early age he had come into contact with Habib-ul-lah.¹⁹ He had been able to enjoy the company of Mulla Mohsin Fāni. Kāmil was an expounder of the ideology of *Wahdat-ul-Wujūd*.²⁰

He has used both Persian and Sanskrit words frequently in his Kashmiri songs.²¹ He died in 1717.²²

1. A.N., III, p. 540; A'in, II, (Jarret), p. 351 & n Tuzuk, p. 317
2. R.K. Parnu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 453.
3. G.T. Vigne, Travels in India, etc. II, p. 368.
Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 454-8.
Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol 8, Part-2, pp. 233,34.
4. A'in, II, (Jarret), p. 351.
5. G.T. Vigne Travels in India, etc. II, p. 368
Lawrance, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 454-458.
6. Mohiud-Din Ha jini (Introduction) Kashir Sha'ari
See also A'in, II, p. 351 and n. (Jarrets note).
7. Tuzuk, p. 317.
8. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol 8, Part 2, p. 233.
9. Mohiud-Din Ha jini, Kashir Shairi, p. 15.
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashur, II, pp. 389-90.
There is a strong tradition about the existence of Habba Khatoon. Besides her love songs, we have a bridge Habba Kadal by name. It is said it was built by her. It is not possible to brush aside such a strong tradition.
10. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 259.
P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 567.
11. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 128.
12. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 583
Prof. Mohiud-Din Ha jini, Kashir Shairi, p. 12.
13. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 567.
We have a number of his poems to at our disposal for critical appreciation.
14. See Chapter V, Section II.
15. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, pp. 567-68
Prof. Mohiud Din Ha jini, Kashir-Shairi, p. 19.
16. A collection of her poems is available in the Research Library, Srinagar, in a manuscript form.
See also Mohiud Din Ha jini, Kashir Shairi, p. 19.
17. Mohiud Din Ha jini, Kashmir Shairi, p. 16.
A collection is extend in Research Library, Srinagar.
18. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 224.
19. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 224.
Bamzai has given the date of his birth 1642 which is not supported by facts. A History of Kashmir, p. 567.
See also Abdul Hamid Irfani, Irāni-Sagīr, p. 165.
20. Šabir Āfāqī, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13,"
Isfandiyar 1350, p. 82.
21. Mohiud Din Ha jini Kashir-Shairi, p. 18
22. Waqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 224, 258.
Mohiud Din Ha jini mentions that Akmal used the "Nunda Akmal" as his poetic name. He states that Akmal died in 1720, Kashir-Shairi, p. 18.

PERSIAN LITERATURE :

It has been stated above that the Persian was adopted as an official language during the reign of Zainul-'Ābidin.¹ But Sanskrit (Sharda) continued to be language of elite. The official histories of the Sultans continued to be written in Sanskrit. Besides bilingual inscriptions on the epitaphs of the graves and a few bilingual documents also support this assumption² of bilingual use.

It was only during the Mughal rule that Sanskrit language completely disappeared from the scene. By the end of the 17th century the Hindus, who had been guardians of learning and literature took to Persian language.³

The Mughals were great patrons of Persian. They awarded land and cash grants to the scholars, and poets. The Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. The famous Sanskrit history, *Rajataranginī* of Kalhan was translated into Persian by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badā'uni.⁴ Besides the royal patronage the presence of Persian speaking officials, saints and sufis gave a fillip to the spread of Persian literature. Poets and scholars like Ṭalib Isfahānī,⁵ Khwāja Moinu-ud-Din Naqashbandi,⁶ Hāji Mohammad Jān Qudsi,⁷ Mulla Tugrā, Muhammad Quli Sālim, Mir Ilāhi, Inayāt Khān, son of Zafar Khān, and many others settled in Kashmir permanently.⁸ They had a large number of associates. As such Kashmir turned to be a miniature Persia.⁹ Numerous works on literature, philosophy, religion, medicine, and music were produced by the Kashmiri natives. Bernier has rightly observed that the Kashmiris were not inferior to the Persian in medicine and poetry.¹⁰ The role of various sufi scholars also contributed to the spread of this language. A great deal of sufi literature in the shape of *Tazikiras*, eulogics and treatises was produced during this period on account of the growing influence of various sufi orders, which had attained almost perfection in Central Asia

Some of the distinguished scholars of our time were Sheikh Yaqūb Ṣarfi, Khwāja Habibullah Hubī, Malik Haidar, Akhwand Mulla Kamāl, Mulla Mazhārī, Mulla Āw jī, Mulla Yousf Chachak, Mulla Zehni, Mulla Nadimni, Mulla Mohsin Fāni, Mulla Ṭahir Gani, Baba Dā'ud Mishkwāti, Baba Naṣibud-Dīn, Mirza Dārāb Joyā, Akmal-ud-din Badkhshi, and Narain Koul Ājiz. A brief notice of some of the native scholars and their works is given here.

SHEIKH YAQŪB ŠARFI

The genius, scholarship, and keen intellect of Sheikh Yaqūb Šarfi was well recognized even during his life-time.¹¹ He had been a pupil of Sheikh Salim Chishti and Sheikh Ahamad Sarhindi.¹³ He was the author of an introduction to Faizi's *Tafsir* entitled *Sawāt-i-ul-Ihām*,¹⁴ the commentary to *Sahih Bukhari* and composed the *Maslakul-Akhyār*, *Wāmiq 'Azāra*, *Laylā Majnūn*, *Magāzi-un-Nubwah*, *Manāsikul-Haj*, *Manāqibul Awliya* and a collection of Quatrains, *Qasāid* and a *diwān* of *ghazals*.¹⁵ He remained in the court and left it in 1595 A.D. for his home where he died in August.^{15a}

HĀJĪ MUHAMMAD KASHMIRI d. 1597-98

Ancestors of Hāji Muhammad had come along with Sayyid Ali Hamadāni and settled in Kashmir.¹⁶ Hāji was born in Kashmir and was tutored by Sheikh Muhammad Bāqi Naqashbandi of Delhi.¹⁷ He was a prolific writer and teacher. The following well-known works are ascribed to him: *Sharhi-Shumāil-un-Nabi*, *Faḡāilul Qurān*, *Sharhul-Mujarad*, *Khulāsah Kitābul Awḡa'a Fī Bayān-i-Maḡhabul-Ārba*.¹⁸

Habib-ullah Noushahri

He was a prolific scholar of Persian as well as of Kashmiri. Hūbī was a pupil of Šarfi. *Tanbihul-Quloob*, and *Raht-ul-Quloob* were his most valuable works on Sufism. He had composed a *Diwān* also.¹⁹

Baba Naṣībud-Dīn-Gāzi

Baba was a pupil of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomī and Baba Daud Khāki. He has translated an earlier biography of Sheikh Nūr-ud-Dīn in Persian verse known as *Noor Nama*. He died on 28th May, 1638.²⁰

Malik Haidar

He was an associate of Yousf Shah Chak and accompanied him during his exile to Hindustan. He was an architect and a statesman at the same time. But he is famous as historian. He compiled *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, during the reign of Jahangir.²¹

Mulla Maḡhari Kashmiri

Maḡhari was a native of Kashmir, but he remained in Iraq for a very long time.²² He was able to enjoy the company of Muhtashim Kāshī,

and Wahshi.²³ After his return to the motherland, he was appointed as Mir Bahri by Akbar in 1595. He had composed a *diwān* comprising 6000 verses. Mulla Maẓhari died in 1609.²⁴ Here is a translation of a few of his verses :

"What lovely look lay in Layla's eye.
That Ma jnūn shut his eyes to friends and
strangers."
Like a tail I follow my own selfish heart
Though the road is not bad, I made myself footsore
Though I break through a hundred scenes
I cannot step out of myself, I wander over a
Hundered stages and am still at old place."

Mulla Nadīmī

His name was Mohammad Ṣāleh and Nadīm was his pen-name. Nadīm was a pupil of Mulla Zehni. He has composed thousands of verses in lucid Persian style.²⁵

Mulla Mohsin Fāni

Fāni a philosopher-poet was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganāi. He was a pupil of Ṣarfi.²⁶ After his teacher's death he left for Balkh and joined the service of Naẓr Mohammad Khān. But he soon returned to India.²⁷ Shah jahan appointed him Ṣad'r of Allahabad. On account of his liberal thinking, he was elevated to the company of Dārā Shukoh.²⁸

He has composed a *Diwān*, an autograph copy of which is available in the Punjab University (Pakistan).²⁹ His poetry has a mystic trend.

Mulla Tāhir Gani

The Mulla belonged to a reputed 'Ashāi family of Kashmir.³⁰ At the age of twenty he commenced composing verses in a lucid Persian style.³¹ His fame spread as far as Persia. Mirza Ṣāib was so much influenced by his style that he came to Kashmir to meet him.³² Mulla Tāhir never attended the Court of any prince nor did he write any *Qasida* in praise of any dignitary.³³ This verse of Gani (in translation) testifies to his bent of mind :

"The world's wealth, Gani cannot blot one's fault.
For all gold's scratchings, still the touch stone is black."

He was a disciple of Baba Naṣibu-ud-Dīn Gāzi and learnt logic and tradition from Sheikh Haidar Chāḡhi.³⁴ He had a profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. *Tazkira Āsrārul-Abrār* and a biography of the Sūfis of Kashmir are some of his famous works. He has rendered *Mantiqut-Tair* of Sanāi into his own Persian verse.³⁵

Nārayan Koul Ājiz

By the end of the 17th century Persian language had completely replaced the Sanskrit. The Brahmins, an intellectual class also took to Persian to enter the government services. Nārayan Koul Ājiz was one of the first Kashmiri Pandiths who excelled in the Persian literature. He is the author of the *Mukhtasar Tawārikh-i-Kashmir*.³⁶

Chief characteristics of the Persian works both in prose and verse, composed by the Kashmiri scholars, and poets may include the mystic trend, lucid style, verse of high order and portrayal of the natural beauty of the valley. One important trait of the Persian poetical works which were composed by the native poets consists of the composition or versification of the famous works of classical Persian poets, under the same respective titles by the Kashmiri poets of Persian for instance Sheikh Yāqūb Ṣarfī wrote *Khamsa* on Maulāna Jāmi's pattern,³⁷ Baba Dāūd Mishkwāti the *Mantiqut-Tair* on the model of Sināi's famous work under the title of *Āsrār-ul-Ashjār*.³⁸

Persian Historiography

The art of history writing was not new to the people of Kashmir. Kalhan's *Raja Tarangini* was a trend setter and proved to be a guide book for future historians in Kashmir in so many respects. But in the course of time on account of civil wars the art of historiography also decayed like other achievements of the period. After the establishment of Muslim rule we do not get any clue of contemporary historical works, though it is often repeated by the 16th and 17th century historians that a couple of histories were written during the Sultanate period. But the Mughal period is rich so far the historical works are concerned. The following are the famous extant works. *Tārikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haider Chādoura, *Bahāristāni-Shāhi* by some anonymous author, *Mukhtasar-Tawārikhi Kashmir* by Nārayan Koul Ājiz.³⁹

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 255.
2. The works of Jonaraj, Shirivara, and Suka are in Sanskrit. The bilingual *Wasīyat Nāma* of Sheikh Hamza is available in S.P.S. Museum.
3. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 551.
4. *A'in*, (Blochmann translation), p. 104.
Bada'uni, *Muntakhibut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 374.
Tuzuk, p. 297.
5. *Tuzuk*, p. 286.
Ma'asiri-Rahimi, p. 1260.
Malik Haidar, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 190a.
Binod Kumar Sahay, *Education & Learning Under the Great Mughals*, pp. 2-3.
Tuhfat-ul-Fuqarā, ff. 50, 80.
6. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 167-68.
7. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 150.
8. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 150, 151, 152, 154, 172.
9. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, p. 3301.
Bernier, *Travels in Mughal India*, p. 402.
G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmir*, II, pp. 446-8.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irān-i-Sagīr*, p. 59.
10. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal India*, p. 402.
See also Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma* III, f. 330a.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I (II), p. 55.
11. *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann translation), pp. 651-52.
Bada'uni, *Muntakhibut Tawārikh*, II, pp. 259, 393, 403.
Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, p. 391.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I (II), p. 55.
12. *Tabqāt-i-Shāhjahāni*, ff. 253-54.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. 110-11.
See also *Insha* Collection 891, 5528, Sulaiman Collection, f. 160a; Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
13. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 110-11.
14. Bada'uni, *Muntakhibut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 393.
15. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 110-11.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 256-7.
G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmir*, II, p. 363.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irān-i-Sagīr*, pp. 154-60.
Sabir Afaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13,"
Isfandiyar, 1350, pp. 74-76.
- 15a. *Muntakhabut-t-Tawārikh*, (tr. Low)
Vol II, p. 417.
16. Sabir Afaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Nos. 112-13,"
Isfandiyar, 1350, pp. 76-77
17. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 391; *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahāni*, f. 225b.
18. Sabir Afaqi, "Hunar-wa-Murdum," p. 76

19. For his life history, see Kashmiri poetry in this chapter. See also *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 132.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani Sagir*, p. 167.
20. See Chapter V, Section II. Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani-Sagir*, pp. 109-146-49.
21. Supra p. 38 and n. 7, p. 208 and N 6 & 7
See Note on Sources. (Introduction)
22. Amin Ahmad Rāzi, *Haft Iqlim*, II, p. 114.
Tabagāt-i-Shāhjahāni, f. 280b.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
23. A'in (Blochmann translation), p. 654.
Budā'uni, *Muntakhībū-Tawārikh*, II, p. 417.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
24. Amin Ahmad Rāzi, *Haft Iqlim*, II, p. 114
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 136.
G.M.D. Sufi *Kashir*, II, pp. 459-60.
25. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 154-57.
G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, pp. 447, 471.
26. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 170.
G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, pp. 365-66.
27. Sabir Āfaqī, "Hunar-wa-Murdum," Abdul Hamid Irfani,
Irani Sagir, pp. 79-80.
28. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 170.
29. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Salih*, III, pp. 426-27.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani Sagir*, pp. 159-60.
Dabistani Mazahib, a treatise on comparative religion is attributed to him which is a controversial issue among various scholars. See the *Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol 2A, p. 58.
30. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 171
31. *Ibid.*
32. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, p. 452.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irani-Sagir*, pp. 60-61
33. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, pp. 452-55.
P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 561.
See also Prof Shaida, M.A., "Hamāra Adab, Mashaheer Number," 1976-77, pp. 341-376. His *diwān* has also been edited by Ali Jawād Zaidi and published by Academy of Art and language Kashmir, 1964.
34. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.
Sabir Āfaqī, "Hunar-wa-Murdum, Vol 112-13," p. 80.
35. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 176. *Asrārul-Abrār* is available in Research & Publication Division, Srinagar.
36. See Note on the sources.
37. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 111.
38. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 176.
39. See for further details the introductory Chapter on sources and also bibliography..

CHAPTER : IX

FINE ART

ART, ARCHITECTURE AND GARDENS

The Mughals were great builders indeed. They raised magnificent palaces, forts, mosques, tombs and laid out gardens throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Their monuments and gardens still retain their magnificence and grandeur. The Valley of Kashmir was also studded with beautiful monuments and gardens by the Mughal Emperors and their nobles. But it is astonishing that most of the monuments have perished in the course of time, except a few gardens, inns, a few mosques, a couple of shrines and Ramparts of the Nāgar Nagar fort. It appears, the cause of this whole-sale destruction was the negligence during the oppressive rule of the subsequent dynasties. The conflagrations, earthquakes, and climatic conditions were not less responsible for this decay.

I. Architecture

The wood constituted the primary building material of the mosques and shrines, but the royal palaces, inns and mosques built by them were exclusively in lime and stone over a core of brick work.¹ The art of stone building was revived by the Mughals, which was almost forgotten by the Kashmiris.² But its influence remained confined to the imperial architectural activity. The indigenous wooden architecture of Kashmir flourished uninterrupted, imbibing no influence from the Mughal style.³ This wooden architecture of Kashmir has its own peculiarities in spite of its resemblance to that of Scandinavian countries, and Tyrol of Australia. It has been least influenced by the Buddhist Pagodas. Prof. Mohibbul Hasan has rightly observed that there was not a single Buddhist Pagoda at the advent of Islam in Kashmir.⁴ The Pagoda architecture is quite different.

It is also quite significant to note that notwithstanding the highly skilled craftsmanship, Kashmiris were not wellversed at joinery work. That is why they used to put the logs on each other and the gaps were filled with brick, stone, and lime.

The architecture of our period can be divided into two sections. The stone architecture, and the wooden architecture. Nāgar Nagar fort, Pather Masjid, Mullah Akhwand Shah Mosque, and Sarāīs are the living examples of the stone architecture, while Khānqah Mu'allā,

Jamia' Masjid, Srinagar, mosque at Shopiyan, Hazrat Bal mosque, and a number of tombs where the remains of holy saints are enshrined, represent the wooden architecture.

1. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 23.
2. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Muslim Period)*, pp. 83-86.
3. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, pp. 333-34.
4. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 269.

Nāgar Nagar Fort

Kohi Mārān had a considerable importance of the defence of the city of Srinagar. It is on account of this importance that the Mughals laid out a well-fortified and magnificent city. During his first visit, Akbar directed Yousf Khān Rizvi to construct houses for the soldiers. They were forbidden to occupy private houses.¹ By 1597, a large number of houses had been built and barracks were also constructed for the soldiers.² In 1597, Akbar directed Mohammad Quli Khān *Ṣubahdār* to dismantle the mud-wall and construct a strong fort of stone there. The foundation of the fort of Nāgar Nagar was laid in 1597 and the construction was completed sometimes after 1606 at the cost of 1,10,00,000 rupees.³ The construction work of the fort was divided into segments, each portion was entrusted to a noble so that the completion might be affected within the shortest period.⁴ Then attention was drawn to constant improvements and new palaces were added to inside the fort for long.⁵ Jahāngir in his first visit after accession renovated the palace and an art gallery also was built in it.⁶ He spent 10,000 rupees for an aquiduct, but the idea was later dropped,⁷ and the construction was left incomplete. It is astonishing to note that there is not a single building existing in tact nor the ruins of the palaces are traceable. But the main gate known as Kāthi Darwāza, and the dilapidated Bāchi Darwaza are extant. Kāthi Darwāza is a structure highly expensive, ornate and stoutly built. Its elevation consists of well built-arched recess. There are gateways on each side. It is significant to note that the Mughals who had excelled in stone architecture throughout their kingdom had not been able to build a fort of such magnificence in this *Ṣubah*.

The only existing piece of this fort is the main gate known as Sangin Darwaza also. There is no symmetrical use of stones. The measurement of all the stones used in this structure vary from one and the other.

It appears that the construction of the fort was taken in a hurry due to the hostile attitude of the nobles of the *Ṣubah*. It has a colossol rampart all around with many small niches and recesses. A stair also leads up to roof. Bāchi Darwāza is now in ruins.⁸

Pather Masjid

Pather Masjid or Nav Masjid was built in 1623 under the supervision of Nūrahān Begum.⁹ It is situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum directly opposite of the Khānqah-i-Mu'allā. It was built in pure granite polished stone, with a length of 180 feet and breadth 54 feet. The style is quite simple and lacking in any kind of ornamentation. The interior is divided into three passages by two rows of massive stone arches. The roof of each compartment is artistically ribbed and vaulted. The Facade consists of 8 massive arches with a large elegant central arch. In simplicity and layout it resembles the Moti Masjid of Agra. But the central dome appears to have been destroyed in the course of time. The external wall of the compound is purely of masonry work in lime and bricks baked by fire. The eastern gate on the river side has been rebuilt recently, but the old wooden door panels along with the frame has been preserved in it. The carved floral designs on the door depict the real artistic skill of the Kashmiri artisans.

The Turkish bath and *Madrasah* built by Fazil Khān in 1697-98 are not now traceable.¹⁰

Mulla Akhwand Shāh Mosque :

It is situated near the shrine of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoomi. It is most neglected monument and in ruins now. The domes and minarets are in a dilapidated condition and the raised verses of the Qurān have been defaced, yet it is a living example of the Mughal architecture. It was built in 1649 by Dārā Shukoh for his preceptor Mulla Shah Badakhshi.¹¹

The mosque has a typical layout. It is, as a matter of fact, a mosque within mosque, built in polished granite stone. In finish and technique, it surpasses all the Mughal monuments. The exterior wall has six engrailed windows on the north and the south. Main gate, now closed, lies in the east. The lotus dome over the *Mehrāb*, now dilapidated, appears to have been of great architectural importance.^{11a} The Turkish bath is in ruins.^{11b} It is purely a masonry work in bricks and lime. The mosque is the only example which had a stone lotus finial over the pulpit, but is not available now. It appears to have been a residential mosque as there are many small rooms for the inmates.

The mosque represents both the stone and wooden architecture of Kashmir. It is rather a synthesis of Mughal and Kashmiri architecture.

Originally the mosque was built in 1400 by Sultan Sikandar, but it was devastated by fire on a number of times.¹² In 1622, while Jahangir was in Kashmir, the mosque was completely destroyed.¹³ He directed Malik Haidar to rebuilt the mosque. It was again destroyed during the reign of Aurangzeb, but was again restored.¹⁴ The massive arched gateway is built in stone and bricks. The building consists of a courtyard surrounded by wide colonnades. The outer wall is of masonry work having projecting entrances on all the three sides. The interior of the building contains a large amount of wood work. There are about 378 wooden ornamented posts of 25 to 50 feet in height.¹⁵

Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā

The Khānqāh is the best example of the typical wooden architecture of Kashmir. Sultan Qutubud-Din had great reverence for Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni and built this mosque for the saint.¹⁶ It was destroyed twice by fire in 1479 and 1731, but was again restored.¹⁷ The present Khānqāh was built in 1732 by Abdul Barkāt Khān.¹⁸

It is a 70 feet square building two storeys in height. It stands on the right bank of the Jhelum on an irregular masonry foundation of an old temple. Its three tiered pyramidal roof surmounted by the open pavilion for *Mu'azzin*, over which rises the steeple with 125 feet high finial from the ground, is of considerable interest. The interior lower hall is 63 feet long and 43 feet broad. In the centre there are four eight-sided ornamented posts supporting the second storey. The panelled walls and painted ceilings in multi-coloured designs add to the grace of the hall.¹⁹

This pattern of architecture can be found in all the shrines, Khānqāhs and mosques which were built during our period. The Khānqāh at Sopore, Baramulla, and Sopiyan are virtually replicas of Shah Hamdān mosque. The shrines at Charari Shareef, Hazratbal and so many other shrines scattered all over the *Ṣubah* are also in the same style. There is hardly any difference of the architectural design, or ornamentation in these buildings.

In the course of time this style of architecture was introduced in Little and Greater Tibet also. The mosques which were built in this region during the Mughal rule represent the provincial style. But the scarcity of wood did not allow the style to flourish on a large scale. It remained confined only to the mosque architecture.

Shigar mosque is a replica of Khanqāh-i-Mu'allā. The facade of the building facing the east consists of a portico as high and wide as the main building. There are three doors of saracenic style in it. Towards the south, there is a gallery of very pleasing design. The centre of the roof has square aperture with a little columned superstructure, surmounted by a curious pinnacle. The gaps and openings are filled with sundried bricks. The inner chamber of the building is rectangular with four pillars supporting the ornamented capitals. The exterior walls have lofty windows closed by ornamented lattice work.

The mosque at Leh Known as Kashmiri mosque is also in the same style.

We have already mentioned that during the Mughal rule a number of inns sprang up along the trade routes. The inns at Khāmpūra, Chingas, Rajouri, Saidābād and Bhimber have survived up to this day, but have lost all magnificence and grandeur. These inns have almost a resembling architectural pattern. Each Sārāi has two broad divisions, one for the *harem* and other for the Emperor. A couple of sleeping chambers adjacent to the big halls, a mosque and a Turkish bath are the peculiarities of these wayside inns. There is an open courtyard encircled by massive stone walls built in stone, lime, and bricks representing the typical Mughal architecture.

The Sārāis of Chingas and Saidābād are fine specimens of this architectural style.

Saidābād Sārāi is a large square building divided into three divisions: well built vaulted small sleeping apartments are on all sides. The mosque and a separate rectangular hall lie in the east. There is no passage link between the main building and this hall.

Chingas Sārāi is more elegant and ornamented. However, it falls within the same architectural pattern.

1. A.N., III, p. 543.
2. A.N., III, p. 726.
3. A.N., III, pp. 726-27, 733, *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
Iqbāl Nama Jahāngiri, II, p. 454.
 Fredric Augusts, *Akbar II*, pp. 215-16
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 118, and Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 88, have wrongly given the date of completion 1006/1597. R.K. Parmu has also raised an unwarranted controversy over the date of foundation and the rational behind the construction of this fort. When it is clear both in *Akbar Nama*, III, pp. 726-27, and on the inscription of the Sangin Darwāza, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 299-301. The fort which crowns the hillock of Kohi Mārān was built by Aṭṭa Mohammad Khān, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir, Birbal Kachroo, *Majmūl-Tawārikh*, f. 246a. Percy Brown is not correct in his statement that the new fort is a replacement of the original citadel of Akbar, *Indian Architecture*, (Muslim Period), p. 88. Outer wall of the Mughal fort encircled whole of the hillock.
4. A.N., III, p. 726-27. According to the local source the construction was supervised by Looli Najār a highly skilled carpenter of Kashmir, *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 252. But the Mughal sources are silent and as per inscription it was Mir Muhammad Husain who was supervising the work.
5. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
6. *Ibid*.
7. Palesaert, *Janhangir's India*, p. 34.
8. Percy Brown suggests that Kathi Darwāza was main gate of the fort, *Indian Architecture*, (Muslim period), p. 88.
10. *Gouhar-i-'Ālam*, p. 296.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 190.
11. Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I, pp. 116-17.
- 11a. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, (Muslim Period), p. 88. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 588.
- 11b. The inscription above the door of the hamam is interesting and the chronogram helps us to fix the date of construction i.e. 1059 A.H./1649 A.D.
12. *Tuzuk*, p. 298.
 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 269-70.
13. Malik Haidar *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 215a.
Tuzuk, p. 301.
 See the inscription on the main gate of this mosque also.
14. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.
15. See for the details, Prof Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 269-70. See also Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*, pp. 87.
16. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 56.
17. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 244.
18. *Ibid*.
19. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, (Islamic Period), pp. 87-88.
 James Fergusson, *History of Eastern and Indian Architecture*, II, pp. 333-34.
 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 269-70.

III. CALLIGRAPHY

Calligraphy and elegant lettering was an art cultivated and valued highly and sometimes treated with greater respect than the art of painting in the Muslim world.¹ It had attained perfection in the Islamic world well before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir.² *Kūfī* and *Naskhī* styles were very popular. The *Kūfī* style was popularised by the Umayyads while *Naskhī* flourished under the Abbasides.³

Soon after the establishment of Islamic rule in the kingdom of Kashmir, the art of calligraphy developed tremendously. In the course of time a distinct Kashmiri style was evolved.⁴ An unwashable ink and unique tints were discovered by the artists.⁵ After the fall of Sultanate, the Kashmiri artists entered the imperial service and in the galaxy of artists they retained their individuality.⁶

The art of illumination, border decoration and illustration was at its highest pitch during the reign of Akbar. The Kashmiri artists also excelled in this art. The floral designs were most convenient for the religious scriptures.⁷ The designs abound in the various works of the period. The Kashmiri artists had achieved mastery in *Kūfī*, *Nastāliq* and *Shalgami* besides Kashmiri *Qalam*.⁸ The art of calligraphy was considered a noble profession. A number of scholars earned their livelihood by scribing the holy *Qurān*.⁹

Mohammad Husain Kashmiri was a famous calligraphist of our period. He was given the title of *Zarrīn Qalam* by Akbar.¹⁰ In the art of calligraphy he even surpassed his teachers, Maulāna Mir Āli and Abdul Aziz.¹¹ His skill was acknowledged by all the calligraphists of the period.¹²

Ali Chaman was another famous Kashmiri calligraphist who excelled in the art at the imperial Court.¹³ Mullā Habīb Ganāī, a famous scholar of his time, was a calligraphist also. His *Nastāliq* style was unique.¹⁴ Hāji Bahrām was his contemporary. His scribed *Qurān* could bring an enormous amount of 10,000 tankas.¹⁵ Mulla Mohammad a pupil of Mulla Mir Husain Zarrīn *Qalam*,¹⁶ adopted *Shalgami* style while his teacher had excelled in *Bādāmi* style. Mulla Mohammad joined the Court of Shahjahān and was given the title of *Zarrīn Raqam*. The inscriptions in various imperial buildings were scribed by him. His elder brother, Mulla Muhsin, was also an eminent calligraphist and was styled as *Shīrīn Qalam*.¹⁷

1. A'in, p. 103 (tr. Blochmann).
2. M.S. Dunand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, p. 67, 2nd Edition, New York, 1947.
3. M.S. Dunand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, p. 67.
4. A'in, (Blochmann tr.) p. 103.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 265-6.
5. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol II, p. 556.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 44.
Percy Brown, *Indian Paintings Under Mughals (1550-1750)*, p. 123.
7. Lachi Ram Kashmiri, *Khulāsatul-Inshā*, f. 25b.
8. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 170-71.
Abdul Hamid Irfani, *Irānī Ṣagīr*, p. 163.
9. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 135.
See also A'in, No 34, (Blochmann) Chapter on the art of writing and painting, pp. 102-113.
10. A'in, (Blochmann), p. 109. Nawal Kishore Ed. p. 76
Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir, p. 136
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 265-6.
11. A'in, (Blochmann), p. 109. Maulana Mir 'Ali was official scribe of Husain Shah Chak, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 115. See also G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*, II, p. 568.
12. *Tuzuk*, p. 44. *Tazkira-Khushnawīsān*, p. 26 (N.K. ed) p. 76.
13. A'in (Blochmann), p. 109.
14. Mohammad 'Azam claims to have acquired his autograph copy of *Mirāadul-ibād*, a treatise on *Taṣawuf*. It contained 10,000 verses. The scribe has maintained symmetry, *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 134.
15. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 135.
16. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, p. 170.
17. *Wāqīāt-i-Kashmir*, pp. 170-71.

Painting :

Skilful Kashmiris had excelled in all kinds of arts and crafts but it is quite strange that they were deficient in a high degree of proficiency in the art of painting.

The remark of Taranatha, a Tibetan monk, regarding the existence of a Kashmir School of Painting had become a point of controversy among the art historians.¹ Karal Khandalavala, H.B. Havel and V. Smith suggest that the remarks of the Tibetan monk are partially correct.² They presume that the panel or fresco paintings might have been cultivated or were already existing in the *Subah* at the time to the monk's visit in 1608, which would have led him to this conclusion.

In the light of above controversy the statement of Abul Faz'l that there was a group of five Kashmiri painters at the Court of Akbar is of great significance.³ But we have not been able to acquire any piece of their artistic display. Furthermore, there is not a single evidence on this point in the chronicles. It is only in the late 17th centry that we come across the Basohali art which was an offshoot of Pahāri School of Painting. It bears the distinct features of Mughal art.⁴ The late 18th and 19th century works of Hindu mythology contain a number of paintings similar ot the Pahāri Art.⁵ But the colour combination and finishing is not so perfect as in the art pieces of Pahāri School.

It appears that the art of painting began to gain ground in the *Subah* only after the disintegration of the empire. But it did not flourish there because the lack of any kind of patronage from the Afghans and the Sikhs, while the Hill Rajas extended liberal support to the artists, which resulted in the development of Pahari School of Art.⁶

1. Tara Natha, *History of Buddhism in India*, tr. Lama Chimpa, etc. etc. Simla, 1970, p. 446.
2. H.B. Havel. *The Art Heritage of India*, pp. 34 & 35n. Karal Khandalavala, *New Documents of Indian Paintings*, pp. 78-85.
Percy Brown *Indian Painting*, p. 125.

3. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals*. p. 189.
4. H.B. Havel, *The Art Heritage, of India*, p. 35.
See also W.G. Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Vol I.
5. See the collection of Sanskrit and Hindi section in Research Library, Srinagar, Nos. 1159, 2302. (11 Paintings); 718, (11, 16 and 18) 889.
6. W.G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills*, Chapter III and IV.
G.M.D. Sufis presumption that there existed a school of painting in Kashmir is not supported by facts. The specimen of paintings in fresco on the walls of Barahdari of Nishāt and Shālimār does not indicate the work of any Kashmiri painter. The Mughal Court was always accompanied by the imperial artisans. *Kashir*, II, p. 557, P.N.K. Bamzai had also committed the same mistake. The love lyrics of Vilhana a Kashmiri poet of 11th century, are not definitely illustrated by a Kashmiri Artist in the 15th or 16th centuries, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 576.
Khandavalas supposition is that the paintings belong to U.P. or Delhi School, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, pp. 80-85.

The decay of the Sultanate and the loss of independence adversely affected the harmonious growth of the peculiar traits in the art of music which was the pride of the Kashmiri Sultanate. The Shah Mir Sultans in general, but Zainulābidin, Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah in particular were great patrons of this art.¹ Yousf Shah Chak and Habba Khātūn were fond of music and could play on various instruments. Mirza Haidar Dughlat also enriched the music of Kashmir by various instruments.²

In spite of linguistic difference, the Mughals patronized the musicians and rewarded them from time to time. Akbar had a group of Kashmiri musicians at his Court.³ Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb rewarded the musicians and minstrels at the time of their arrival in the *Ṣubah*.⁴ But towards the close of his reign, Aurangzeb directed the *Ṣubahdārs* to discourage the musicians and take away their instruments.⁵

Saints, *Ṣūfis*, and local mystics were very fond of classical music and the art thus was patronized by them.

Kashmir music had three distinct forms, *Ṣūfiānā-Mūsiqi*, *Chakri* and *Sahrāi*. *Ṣūfiāna Mūsiqi* never filtered down to the masses. *Ṣūfiāna* music flourished because of the *Ṣūfis*, who not only patronized this art, but were also fond of it, and remained the privilege of the aristocracy only. It is no wonder that it still retains the feudal characteristics.⁶ *Chakri* (group songs) and *Sahrāi* styles were patronized by the common people.

Here it may not be out of place to refer to the *Baghats*. This tribe is almost scattered all over the *Ṣubah*.⁷ Their services were required by the peasantry at the time of marriage ceremonies. This class of minstrels performed *jashans* in honour of the emperors and *Ṣubahdārs* at the time of their arrival.⁸

Sāz, *Santoor*, *Sitār*, and *Dukrā* were the instruments required for *Sufiana* music. *Daf*, *Sarangi*, lute, and earthen pitcher were common musical instruments.⁹

Khawājā Momin Jahīl, and *Maulāna Khawājā Mohammad* were two famous critics of music of our period.

Khawāja Momin Jahīl was son of Abul Qasim Jahīl was pupil of Mulla Jawāhir Nānta famous musician of his time. Momin Jahīl was a close associate of Yousf Shah Chak, who was himself a lover of music.¹⁰ He has written a treatise on music also.¹¹ Maulāna Mohammad was the pupil of Khawāja Momin. He excelled in this art during the reign of Shahjahan.¹²

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 271-72.
2. *A.N.*, I, p. 198.
Kāmgār Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 132a.
Abul Hasan, *Jahāngir Nāma*, p. 147.
3. *A'in*, (Blochmann tr.), p. 681.
4. *A.N.*, III, p. 541.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I (II), p. 53.
See also Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 100.
5. J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 100.
6. Qaisar Qalandar, 'Music of Kashmir' article published in *The Hindustan Times*, April 4, 1976.
7. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 312. See also P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 569-575.
8. *Asrārul-Abrār*, 242a.
J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, p. 100.
See also Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, (II), pp. 53, 54, 55.
See Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 312.
9. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 272.
10. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 159.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

VI. The Mughal Gardens

The fanciful Mughal gardens highly elegant, exquisite and tasteful are scattered all over the *Ṣubah*. They still retain their grace, magnificence and artistic excellence. Historians, adventures, naturalists and poets paid eloquent tributes to the natural and scenic beauty and the decorative art pattern of the sublime grace and exquisiteness of the Mughal gardens.

The Mughal emperors were very fond of gardens and the valley of Kashmir in its profusion of superb natural beauty, its variegated foliage and its enchanting vernal flower growth afforded the natural ground for the efflorescence of numerous gardens and the enclosed monuments to shed lustre to the entire set-up. Right from the annexation hundreds of gardens were laid out by the emperors, the *Ṣubahdārs*, and other principal officers. Though the tradition of gardening and horticulture in Kashmir dates back to the period of the Sultans,¹ and even before, yet there were certain characteristics which were associated with the Mughals only.

The fencing, symmetrical arrangement of the flower beds, presence of water and above all the existence of fruit trees within the garden were the peculiarities of the Mughal gardens. As a matter of fact the modern horticulture owes a great deal to the founders of these gardens. Experiments in grafting and the introduction of new fruit trees was virtually started with these gardens.² Most of the gardens were laid out around the Dal Lake and in the vicinity of the city. It is said that more than 700 gardens were found around the lake only.³

As mentioned above Akbar founded the township of *Nāgar Nagar* in 1597. A beautiful garden called *Darshan Bāgh* was laid out by him within the fortified city.⁴ In 1622, Jahangir renovated the imperial palaces. Mu'tamad *Khān* was assigned this work.⁵ A beautiful garden was laid out in front of the palace. It had three terraces and an art gallery was arranged in the centre of this square garden. This garden was called *Bagh-i-Nūr-Afzā*.⁶

Bagh-i-Ilāhi

It was laid out by Yousf *Khān* Rizvi during the tenure of his office as *Ṣubahdār* in the vicinity of *Batspora*.⁷ A canal, three yards in width was brought from the *Sindh* for the irrigation of this garden.⁸ A pavilion

was built in the centre with a tank in the front. Rows of fountains were installed in it. It was beautified by the plantation of chinars.⁹ Later on Shahjahān built two more pavilions on the either side of canal and included this garden among the imperial gardens.¹⁰

Bāgh-i-Naseem

It stands in a fine open position well raised above the Dal lake. A cool fragrant breeze blows throughout the day and night. It was laid out by Akbar,¹¹ and improved and enlarged by 'Aẓam Khān, Saif Khān, and Afzal Khān.¹² It was enclosed by a massive wall and a canal was dug out from Lār defile to irrigate the garden. It retained its fame on account of its beautiful chinar trees. These were planted by Akbar and later 'Ali Mardan Khān also added more plants.¹³

Bāgh-i-Bahar Ārā

It was laid out by Nūrjahān Begam in the midst of the Dal lake opposite Darshan Bāgh near Sodhra Khon.¹⁴ It was divided into two terraces. A double storeyed pavilion was built during the reign of Shahjahān in 1635.¹⁵

Noor Bāgh

It was founded by Nūrjahan in the vicinity of Īdgāh. A branch of Shah Kul was brought through Zunimar for the irrigation of the garden.¹⁶ It was famous for its fruits, flowers and chinars.¹⁷ The garden is now in ruins but the mohalla which sprang up around it is called Noor Bāgh.

Bāgh-i-Irādat Khān

This garden was planted by Irādat Khān in 1618-19 near Nawapora. It was divided into various terraces. Cascades, fountains and chutes made of polished granite were its main peculiarities.¹⁸ A magnificent palace was built in the garden which was destroyed by fire.¹⁹

Bāgh-i-Haidarābād

'Ali Mardan Khān laid out a splendid garden near Noushahra. It had many terraces. Tanks and fountains were built in each terrace. A canal was brought from Lār to provide water to the garden.²⁰

Another garden was founded by him near Tel Bal and named Bāgh-i-Alīābād.²¹ Fruit trees of various kinds were planted in the garden and the income from the fruits was annually sent to Mashād Sharif.²²

Bāgh-i-Ṣādiqābād

Ṣādiq Khān, a noble of Shahjahān, laid out a beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal Lake opposite Shāla Mār Bagh. It consisted of a number of terraces. A canal from Lār was constructed for its irrigation.²³ Carved stone fountains were the striking features of this garden.²⁴ A mosque was built in it during the reign of Aurangzeb by Fāzil Khān and the Holy relic of prophet was placed in it.²⁵ It is now known as *Hazrat Bal*.

Choudhari Bāgh

Mahēsh Koul a Choudhari laid out a splendid garden comprised of 60 terraces near Ishabari.²⁶ Irrigation facilities were provided to this garden by taking out a channel from the Sindh.

Bāgh-i-Zafar Khān

In 1635-36, Zafar Khān laid the foundation of a large and beautiful garden on the bank of the Dal Lake. Zafar Khān offered the garden as a *peshkash* to Shahjahan during the latter's visit to this garden. On account of its vastness, it was named *Bagh-i-Tūlānī*.²⁷

Bagh-i-Zafarābād, Bagh-i-Gulshan, Bāgh-i-Hasanābād were also founded by him during his tenure of *Ṣubahdāri*.²⁸

Besides, the above mentioned gardens, we have the world-famous Shālimār, Nishat, Chashma Shāhi, and Harwan garden. These gardens are situated on the Dal lake in the background of a mountain.

Shālimār Bāgh

Shālimār is a village in the Phāk Parganah at a distance of 9 miles from Srinagar.²⁹ During Raja Parvarsen's rule (78-139 A.D.), a famous saint lived in the vicinity of Shala Mar. Raja Parvarsen laid out this garden in honour of the saint.³⁰ In the course of time it was reduced to ruins. Nothing was left there on its site except a natural water-fall.³¹ On his tour in this area, Jahāngir was too much fascinated by the natural beauty of the area and he laid out a garden called Bāgh-i-Farah

Bakhsh.³² It was spread over an area of 7500 square yards. The canal passing through the garden was paved with stones under the supervision of Prince Khurram.³³

The garden had three terraces with a tank in the centre of each division studded with fountains. A beautiful *Bārādhari* was built in the central position.³⁴ Cascades and chutes were paved with coloured glazed tiles so as to heighten the effect of the reflection of the sky and the clouds.³⁵ *Chabūtarās* were raised in each division at the point of water chute. A high wall was raised around the garden and small cells were built on the four corners.

The Emperor Shahjahan visited the garden in 1636. The poplars and chinars planted some fourteen years earlier were in full bloom.³⁶ He directed Zafar Khān to add another garden adjacent to Farah Bakhsh. A tank forty square yards, was built in the centre. A *bārāhdari*, ten feet by eight, was also constructed in it. This part of garden was called Bagh-i-Faiz Bakhsh. It was reserved for the *herem* only.³⁷

Nishāt Bāgh

It is situated at a distance of seven miles from Srinagar on the farthest end of the Dal Lake. It was the gayest of all the gardens and even surpassed the Shālimār garden both in layout, and design and architecture.³⁸ It was put up by Āṣaf Khān during the reign of Jahangir. In 1635, Āṣaf Khān hosted a feast in honour of Shāhjahān. He was highly impressed by the layout of the garden.³⁹

The garden comprised 9 terraces and the last one was reserved for *zenāna*.⁴⁰ A magnificent palace was built in the *zenāna*. An 18 feet high arched wall separated the harem garden from the rest of the garden.⁴¹ A channel about 13 feet wide runs across the garden foaming down from one terrace to other in the shape of cascades.

Each terrace was in itself a complete garden.⁴² In the centre of each terrace there was a tank adorned with fountains made of stone.⁴³ Sexagonal marble *chabutaras* were erected in each terrace bridging the canal at the head of every water fall. These *chabūtaras* are fine examples of architecture. These marble thrones are a special feature of Nishāt garden. There were two *bārāhdaris* in the garden, one at the entrance and the other in the third terrace. The *bārāhdari* was a two-storeyed building in Kashmir-Mughal architecture standing on a stone foundation. It is fifty-nine feet long and forty eight feet wide.⁴⁴

Besides the above stated gardens, the Chashma Shāhi, Bāgh-i-Dilāwar Khān,⁴⁵ Bāgh-i-Saif Khān,⁴⁶ Bāgh-i-Gangī Reshi,⁴⁷ and Bāgh-i-Qawāmuddin Khān,⁴⁸ were of considerable importance.

Chashma Shāhī

Chashma Shāhī, a famous spring of fresh water flows on the slope of Zebwan mountain in the Phāk Parganah about five miles from Srinagar. This spot was previously called Kūtlīnā. It attracted large crowds of people during the summers. During a visit Prince Dārā Shukoh was impressed by the natural setting of the place. He laid out a garden and built a few houses and a mosque⁴⁹ on its site. A marble cistern originally built at Lahore was brought to Kashmir and placed over the source of this spring.⁵⁰ Subsequently, Jahān Ārā Begam laid out a beautiful garden around the spring and called it Chashma-Shāhi after the name of her preceptor, Mullā Shah Badakhshi.⁵¹ C.M. Villiers Stuart has translated the Chashma Shāhi as Royal spring.⁵² It has presumably led Bamzai,⁵³ Dr Parmu⁵⁴ and Ferguson⁵⁵ to the erroneous conclusion that the spring garden was laid out by Shāhjahān, which is negated by the contemporary evidences.⁵⁶ There was another source of the spring above this one. Its source was widened by Hasan Raina a disciple of the Mullah to allow greater volume of water to gush out.⁵⁹ During 1649-50, Husain Beg Khān arranged a garden around this spring and built an edifice nearby.⁶⁰ Dārā Shukoh and Jahān Ārā Begum also added a few buildings to embellish the place.⁶¹

Other gardens spread over the valley were too numerous and it is difficult to describe each of them separately. But the Bāgh-i-Wafā, Bāgh-i-Shihābuddīnpora, Bāgh-i-Dārā Shukoh Bijbehāra, Verinag, Achiwal, Kokar Nāg, Islamābād, Machi Bhawan in other parts of the valley have won the eternal fame.

Bāgh-i-Shihābuddīnpora and Bāgh-i-Wafā situated below Srinagar and the rest of these eternal gardens lie in the Marāz division.

Shihābuddīnpora is a joyous spot on the confluence of the Sindh and the Jhelum.⁶² It was developed during the reign of Jahangir. Chinar trees were planted in it and two pavilions were built in the garden.⁶³

Bagh-i-Wafā

Mānsbal lake is at a distance of 15 miles from Srinagar and the garden was laid out on the right side of this lake near village, Şafāpur.⁶⁴

It was founded by Mirza Haidar Duglat.⁶⁵ But improved upon and renovated by Nūrjahān Begum.⁶⁶ In 1642, the garden was assigned to Jahān Ārā Begum.⁶⁷

The garden was spread over the slope of Diyār-Lari mountain. It was divided into three terraces, tanks and fountains were installed in each terrace.⁶⁸

Vērīnāg

The spring garden of Vērīnāg was most unusual of all the Mughal gardens. It is situated at the foot of thickly wooded hill-side about three miles below Jawahir Tunnel.

Crystal clear water bearing the reflection of the pine laden mountain in the background enchanted Prince Salim. He visited the spot in the company of his father and directed his officials to build a house for himself.⁶⁹ By 1622, the house was complete and a beautiful garden was also laid out in front of the spring. The basin shaped spring was embanked with heaven stones in octagonal position. Each side of the octagon was 17 yards long and the diameter of the spring was 40 yards.⁷⁰ A magnificent building was put up above the spring in brick and mortar.⁷¹

In 1636, Shahjahān visited the garden, but he did not like the layout and the buildings of the garden.⁷² Malik Haidar was appointed as *Dāroga Bayūtāt* and directed to remodel the whole plan.⁷³ The existing main channel divided the garden but two smaller channels were then built for irrigation of the side gardens. A palace with a Turkish bath was built in the centre.⁷⁴ The garden was named Shahābād.⁷⁵

Achawal Bāgh

It is situated at a distance of 6 miles from Islamābād. A small but a pretty garden was laid out there by Jahangir in 1622.⁷⁶ It was improved upon and renovated by Shāhjahān in 1636.⁷⁷ A pavilion was built in the centre of the garden. Later in 1641, a summer house was built in it.⁷⁸ The garden was called Sahibabad. In 1662, Aurangzeb assigned the garden to Zebunnisa Begum.⁷⁹

The vigorous efforts made by the Mughals in developing the remote scenic spots into health resorts produced healthy and

beneficial effect on the economic life of the people. We have already stated emperors, subahdārs, and other officials vied one another in laying out gardens and building monumental palaces and summer houses. Every one wanted to surpass his predecessor, with the result continuous development was constantly effected and these picnic spots too often visited by and reserved for the various categories of the ruling class became the tourist resorts. The modern tourist industry, as a matter of fact, owes a lot to the Mughals. The direct impact was no less beneficial. It checked the economic drain out of the *Ṣubah* to a great extent. The money realized from the people was diverted to this field. Enormous amount was spent over on these gardens and monuments.⁸⁰ Eight lakhs of rupees were alone spent in one year by Shahjahān on the buildings and gardens.⁸¹ These gardens gave a fillip to horticulture also. Experiments on grafting and plantation of new varieties of fruit were also carried on in these gardens,⁸² with too well-known and beneficial effects for the variety and exuberance of fruit industry in the valley.

1. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 249.
2. *Tuzuk*, p. 301.
3. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 110-11.
4. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
5. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 111.
6. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 567.
7. *Tuzuk*, p. 302.
8. A.N., III, p. 618.
9. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, p. 27.
10. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 37.
11. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 37.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, p. 28.
14. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 114a.
15. Hasan's contention that the garden was laid out by Shāhjahān is not correct. See A.N., III, p. 618. also Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 28.
16. Lahori *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 28.
17. C.M. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 158.
18. Lahori *Bādshah Nāma*, II p. 28.
19. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, III, f. 606.

13. Stuart Villier is not correct in assuming that the *chinar* was introduced in the *Ṣubah* by Ali Mardan Khān, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 158. Even during his first visit Akbar saw massive worn out chinar trees in the *Ṣubah*, *A.N.*, III, p. 548. See also *Tuzuk*, pp. 296-301.
14. Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, pp. 26-27.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 113b.
Sodra Khon is an island in the Dal Lake. The lake is considered to be deepest around this place.
15. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, III, f. 317a.
16. Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 114.
17. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, III, f. 605.
(Transcript copy of Department of History), A.M.U. Aligarh.
18. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 124-25.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 117b.
19. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 124-25.
20. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 140.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 117a.
21. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 141.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Zafar Khān Ahsan *Haft Maṣnavī*, f. 15.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 118a.
24. C.M. Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 160.
25. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 191.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 118.
26. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 166.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 118a.
Diwan Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, p. 214.
Anand Koul, *Archaeological Remains of Kashmir*, p. 73.
27. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, I, pp. 27-28.
28. Zafar Khān, Ahsan, *Haft Maṣnavī*, ff. 15-16.
29. In *Tuzuk*, p. 303, and *Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 133a, it is *Shālā Māl* but *A'in*, II, p. 173, has *Shālā Mar*, which is correct.
30. C.M. Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 162.
31. *A'in*, II, p. 173.
32. *Tuzuk*, p. 303.
Ma'asir-i-Jahāngiri, f. 133.
33. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 315b.
34. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, f. 316.
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 34.
35. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, pp. 34-35.
36. Qazvini, *Bādshah Nāmā*, III, p. 315b.

37. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāmā*, III, f. 317.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāmā*, II, p. 24.
38. C.M. Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 168.
39. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 35.
40. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāmā*, III, f. 317.
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 35.
V. Stuart States that three were 12 terraces in the garden. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 168.
41. This wall is still in tact but the *zenānā* palace and the garden is in ruins.
42. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 35
43. V. Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 171
44. See also Villier Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pp. 166-68.
45. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 134.
46. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 165.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, p. 118b.
47. Lahori, *Bādshah Nama*, II, p. 29
48. *Wāqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 166
49. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, ff. 56a-b
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pp. 177-8.
53. *A History of Kashmir*, p. 594
54. *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 295-9.
55. *Kashmir-A Historical Introduction*, pp. 123-24.
56. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, f. 56b.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, f. 28b.
59. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, f. 56b.
60. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, f. 56b. Bamzai assumes that the garden was laid out in 1642 by Ali Mardan Khan is not supported by facts, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 594.
J.P. Ferguson, has also committed the same mistake. He states the spring garden was built in AD 1632 by Ali Mardān Khān. It is evident that Ali Mardan Khān had not even joined the Mughal service at this time.
61. Tawakul Beg Kulābī, *Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī*, f. 56b.
Hasan, *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 117b.
62. At present it is know as Shādepōra at the distance of 12 miles in the north-west of Srinagar in long. 74° 43' 34" 11'. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 727.

63. *Tuzuk*, p. 294.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 29.
64. Long. 74° 43' Lat. 34° 16'
65. *A.N.*, III, p. 556. Moorcraft states that the garden was laid out by Akbar is not born out by facts. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc. II, p. 221.
66. *Tuzuk*, p. 314.
67. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 195.
68. *Tuzuk*, p. 313.
Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 317
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 195.
69. Elliot, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 56.
Malik Haidar was assigned this work, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 230b.
70. *Tuzuk*, p. 313.
Iqbāl Nāma, *Jahāngīrī*, III, p. 570.
71. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngīrī*, III, p. 570.
72. Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, III, f. 328b.
73. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 328b.
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, pp. 52-3.
74. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, pp. 52-53
Kumbu, *Amal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 43.
75. Qazvini, *Shahjahān Nāma*, III, f. 328
J.J. Modi has raised a controversy over the date of the foundation on the basis of two inscriptions. He suggests that the work was started in 1029 and was completed in 1036 H. "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society Bombay, 1917-18, Vol 25, No. 71," pp. 64-73.
76. *Tuzuk*, p. 313.
Qazvini, *Shāhjahān Nāma*, III, f. 327.
77. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 51.
78. *Ibid.*
79. Mohammad Kāzīm, *Ālamgir Nāma*, II, pp. 836-37.
80. *Gouhar-i-Ālam*, p. 267.
81. *Dastūrul-Āmal-i-Shahjahāni*, f. 18, Sulaiman Collection 675/53, Maulana Azad Library, AMU., Aligarh.
82. See Chapter II, Section III.
Villier Stuart, *The Gardens of Great Mughals*, p. 166.



Section III
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

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CHAPTER : X

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

I. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The period under review witnessed many developments in the economic field. We have already discussed the important features in the sphere of agriculture in Chapter II. It is appropriate here to deal with the main developments in industry, trade and commerce, condition of workers, their professions, the volume of foreign trade, imports, skilled and minor crafts and the like to give a complete picture of the society in the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir.

In the rugged and hilly terrain of Kashmir, passes and routes connecting the various parts of the region with one another and access to the outside world were of paramount importance. It is thus appropriate to discuss the trade routes in Mughal Kashmir before coming to the discussion of trade, industry and such other aspects.

TRADE ROUTES

Surrounded by an unbroken chain of high mountains Kashmir was physically hampered to keep pace with the economic development of the rest of the Empire. Trade and commerce could not flourish on account of these natural restraints.¹ But this ring of mountains was pierced by various passes which established links with the outside world and ensured the needs of the land being fulfilled by contacts with the people inhabiting other lands. The Mughal occupation enhanced the importance of the *Subah*, and a regular link was maintained with the rest of Empire. The routes received extra care and proper attention was paid for their maintenance.

Abul Fazl states that there were twenty six routes linking Kashmir with the outside world.² The Central Asian trade route passed through Kashmir, connecting India with Central Asia. But only six routes were of great importance. These routes remained open for the most part of the year. Even during the winter months merchants traversed the routes though with great difficulties.

The Mughal paid great attention to the maintenance of these routes. Rivers were spanned with bridges,³ and inns were built all along to provide shelter to the travellers. These steps gave a fillip to the trade and commerce of the *Subah*.

The imperial or Mughal road, Muzzafarbād-Pakhli route, Kashtawār-wardwan route, Zojilla route, and Punch route, were of great significance.⁴

MUGHAL ROAD

This route connected Kashmir with Gujarāt and it was frequently used by the Mughal monarchs.⁵ It runs over the Pīr Pānjāl Pass, via Hastivānj.⁶ Greater part of the route is hilly. In 1589, Muhammad Qāsim Khān was directed to level and widen the route. Thereafter it was made passable for pack loads, ponies, mules and elephants,⁷ but on account of its high altitude it remained closed during the winter months.⁸

Bhimbhar, the starting point for the valley attained great importance.⁹ A strong force was stationed here during the visits of the Mughal emperors to Kashmir,¹⁰ Heavy armour was also mounted on Bhimbhar.¹¹ Next halting place was Adhīdak. It is at a distance of 6 miles from Bhimbhar.¹² The important stages on this route were Saidābād,¹³ Noushahra,¹⁴ Chingas,¹⁵ Rajouri,¹⁶ Thanā,¹⁷ Bahrām gallā,¹⁸ Poshīāna,¹⁹ Aliābād,²⁰ Hirapura,²¹ Shopiyān,²² and Khāmpora.²³

Most difficult part of the road was that which connected Noushahra with Aliabād; thence to Srinagar it was quite easily passable. It was studded on the side by over twelve inns which were located at Jahāngir Hatī,²⁵ Noushahra,²⁶ Rajouri, Thanā,²⁷ Bahrām galla, Shāji-Marg, and Khāmpora.²⁸ These places developed into busy trade centres and their importance did not diminish even as late as the establishment of the Sikh rule over the *Ṣubah* in 1819.²⁹

MUZAFFARBĀD PAKHLI ROUTE

The route connected Kashmir with Rawalpindi and thence with Peshawar. It was also frequently used during our period. In 1589, Akbar left Kashmir by the same route because it was situated on a comparatively lesser elevation and snowfall too was not heavy there. He appointed Hāshim Beg Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, to widen the route below Baramulla.³⁰ The route remained almost traversable even during the winter months³¹ and ponies and pack horses, elephants, and even heavy armour were carried on this route.³² Jahāngir also issued orders to maintain the road in good order. In 1622, Noor-ud-

Din Quli was appointed to rebuild the road and span the rivulets.³³ He was assisted by Malik Ali also.³⁴ In 1640, during his visit, Shahjahān sent Raja Jagat Singh to repair this route,³⁵ and Husain Beg was deputed in A.D. 1655 for the same purpose.³⁶

The starting point of the route was the ferry of the Indus near Attock.³⁷ It passed through Hasanabdāl up to river Kunhār.³⁸ The river was forded below Gadhi Habibullah at Shangraf Kani, on the border of Pakhli.³⁹ After crossing Kishan Ganga it moved along with the left bank of the Jhelum up to Baramulla. From Baramulla to Srinagar there were two routes. The route over the river Jhelum and Noupora-Pattan route.⁴⁰

PUNCH ROUTE:

The easiest route connecting Punch with the valley was through Hāji Pīr Pass.⁴¹ It was virtually an offshoot of Pakhli route. The important stages below Baramulla were Rāmpūr, Gori,⁴² Hatinā, Haidarābād, Aliābād, Khota and Punch.⁴³ Another route shoots from Gori to Mari,⁴⁴ while Punch was linked with Jammu via Rajouri, Suran, Thanā, Rajouri, Dharamsāla, Akhnoor were important stages on this route.⁴⁵ It remained open throughout year and snowfall was quite insignificant.

Poonch was linked with the valley by another route also. It was across Tosamaidān Pass (14000). It was of great strategic importance, but on account of high elevation it remained under snow for more than six months in the year.⁴⁶

KASHTAWAR ROUTE:

There are two routes leading into Kashtawār from Kashmir. From Islāmābād one goes by way of Singhpora^{46a} and another via Dasu.⁴⁷ The first Mughal attack on Kashtawār was launched by the same routes.⁴⁸ It connected Kashtawār with Badrawāh and Jammu through Rāmban.⁴⁹ The road from Kashmir remained open for a longer duration but it was traversed on foot, and ponies were rarely used because of its uneven terrain.⁵⁰

CENTRAL ASIAN TRADE ROUTE:

The road traverse nearly the whole of Ladakh from east to west.⁵¹ It was passable during the period from March till November, but on

account of its commercial importance, the merchants very often used it during the winter season as well.⁵² It connected Kashmir with Central Tibet, Kashgar, Yārkand and China. The trade of Kashmir with Bhutan, Nepal and Bengal was also carried on by this route.⁵³ As a matter of fact this route was the life vein of the woollen industry of Kashmir. The entire shawl wool was brought to the valley through this road.⁵⁴ A number of towns and market places emerged on sites along this route.⁵⁵ It was important both commercially and strategically. Mirza Haidar Dughlat launched his first attack on Kashmir in 1530 passing through this route and in the subsequent Mughal invasions on Little and Greater Tibet under Shahjahān and Aurangzeb the same route provided the passage and facilitated the task of the invading forces.⁵⁶

On account of the high elevation and scarcity of fodder most of trade was carried on by the porters on their backs.⁵⁷ Horses, mules, and yaks, were also put into service.⁵⁸ The beasts of burden were usually exchanged at Drās and Leh for onward march.⁵⁹

From Srinagar to Baltal the road was quite comfortable passage even for all kinds of beasts of burden. Bāltal is about twenty miles from Sonamarg at altitude of 11570 feet above sea-level.⁶⁰ From there begins mountainous track. Baltal was the last inhabited village on the side of Kashmir, and Matāyan lies on the other side of the Zojillā Pass at a height of 10700 feet. From here the route turned on along with the Drās river up to Kargil, and passed to Purig valley as far as Waka leaving Pashkyum on the left side.⁶² Leaving Waka river behind and crossed Namyika Pass (1300 feet). It then kept up with the defile and the river Kanji was crossed below Pholo Law Pass. Then it led to Lāmayūr.⁶³ From here it followed the course of Wānlā-chū to its confluence with the Indus below the bridge of Khallach.⁶⁴ Crossing the river Indus it moved along with the river past the valleys of Nurla, Saspul, Buzgo, and Pitak.⁶⁵ Near Pitak it left the river and moved North-East till it reached Leh. From Leh the outlets beyond take the form of about eleven routes crossing the Karakoram range of mountains.⁶⁶ But the route which was commonly followed by the merchants was the one leaving Leh behind. From here it was passing along with Lochela Khardonglā,⁶⁷ plans and crossed the Shayok below the confluence of Nūbrā river near Khelsar. It then passed along the valley of the Nūbrā river till it comes across Sasir Pass.⁶⁸ From Sasir it ascended the river Shayok. From Sasir Barangsa⁶⁹ it was divided into two branches. One

went along the left bank of Shayok while the other after crossing Shayok passed through Murgo and Bursa.⁷⁰ It laid through Depsong plain and crossed the Chapchaq⁷¹ near Paloo. Next stage was Karakoram. The other branch was crossed above the confluence of Chapchaq up to Paloo. From Paloo the route led to the Chinese town of Tashigong.⁷² It was here again divided into two branches, one led to Central Tibet and other to Yarkand.

Leh was linked with Sipti and Lahole also.⁷³ This route was used mainly by the merchants of India. The Tsprang Christian Mission had also used the same route. Unfortunately the maintenance of the route was not paid the attention by the authorities that it deserved.

The rivers were spanned by the swinging bridges and there were no *carvān sarāis* on the Tibetan routes which was a great lacuna in the administrative efficiency in the *Subah*.

INNS:

Soon after the Mughal annexation a chain of inns spread over the main trade routes. During his first visit Akbar and his camp followers utilized their tents, but Jahangir in his visit of 1622 and his subsequent tours did not require tents for his encampment.⁷⁴ During the reigns of Shahjahān and Aurangzeb a number of new inns were built and the old inns were repaired and improved on.⁷⁵ The first inn was built by Muhammad Quli Khān at Khāmpora,⁷⁶ and Send-Barāri.⁷⁷ It was completed in 1597.⁷⁸ During the reign of Jahangir inns were built on the way side of the Pakhli route as well as on the imperial road.⁷⁹

But it was under Shahjahān that a chain of magnificent inns was put up along with the imperial road. The main inns were built at Chingas, Rajouri, Thanā, Bahrāmgallā, Poshianā, Hiraporā, Shāji-Marg, and Khāmpora. The *Sarāi* at Rajouri was built by Zafar Khān.⁸⁰ He was also in charge of Noushahra inn which was transferred to 'Ali Mardān Khān in 1641-42.⁸¹ During 1646-47, another inn was built in between Noushahra and Bhimbar which was assigned to Islam Khan.⁸² Jahān Ārā Begam also got an inn constructed at Hirapora.⁸³

Shahjahān entrusted the administration of each inn to a noble of high repute.⁸⁴ This arrangement continued throughout our period. During his visit, Aurangzeb assigned the administration of Chingas *Sarāi* to Mohammad 'Azam, Rajouri inn to Mohammad Mu'azam, and Thana *Sarāi* to Murtaza Khān.⁸⁵

Though these inns were basically built for the imperial use but inns for the travellers were also built on these sites.⁸⁶ In the course of time townships developed around these places. Obviously the travellers were supplied with the food, water and fodder besides shelter. References as to the charging of fee for stay in such wayside inns from those who sought shelter are lacking. This may be taken to suggest that such inns constituted a measure of public deal undertaken by the state to promote trade and travel and provide comforts to the imperial officials and troops to traverse distances through the rugged hilly terrains.

RIVER NAVIGATION:

River navigation was the main source of transport in the valley⁸⁷ but ponies⁸⁸, mules,⁸⁹ camels,⁹⁰ and donkeys⁹¹ were used in the hilly tracks of the *Ṣubah*. Yāk was also used in the Little and Greater Tibet,⁹² but the bulk of trade articles were carried on the backs of porters.⁹³

There were 7500 boats in Kashmir in 1589 when Akbar visited Kashmir.⁹⁴ The cargo boats were known as **bahts** and the light boats called *Shikāras*. *Shikāra* was used for the general conveyance of the people.⁹⁵ During his visit, Akbar introduced some new type of boats of the Gujrāt and Bengāl models.⁹⁶

1. Irfan Habib, "Government and Economic Life, p. 24." Cyclostyled article in the Seminar of the Department of History, AMU., Aligarh.
2. *A'in*, II, p. 169.
3. Nurullah Shostari, *Majālisul Mominīn*, pp. 49-50.
Ṣādiq Khān, Tarikh-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 53a.
 Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, pp. 169-70.
Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri, III, p. 559.
4. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, (I) II, p. 15.
Iqbāl Nāma, III, p. 564.
Ālamgir Nāma, p. 720.
Mā asir-i-Ālāmgeri, tr (Sarkar), p. 26.
5. Fedric Drew, *Territories of Jamoo and Kashmir*, pp. 91-94, 156.
 Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 23, 393-84.
 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 24.
In A'in II p. 169, it is *Hastivater*.

6. *A.N.*, III, p. 538. Beveridge has also accepted it as Hastīwater, p. 821. See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 24.
7. *A.N.*, III, p. 538. Elephants accompanied Mughal Camp.
8. *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, f. 131.
9. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 390
10. *A.N.*, III, p. 537.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 390
11. *A.N.*, III, p. 537. A small town in lat. 32°-8', long. 74° 8' about 150 miles from Srinagar.
12. *A.N.*, III, p. 538, gives the name of place Adidat. But in *Bates Gazetteer*, p. 163, and in the Survey map of Kashmir prepared by Montogomry in 1859, it is Adhidak. Beveridge names it as Aditak. *A.N.* III (translation), p. 819. It is called Kajidar Pass also. *A.N.*, III, p. 538. In *Rannels' Map*, it is Uddi Duka. It is in long. 74°-11', lat. 33°-3'
13. Saīdābād is about 13 miles from Bhimbar
14. Noushahra is an important town lying in the territory of Kashmir *Subāh*. A garrison was always stationed here. *A.N.*, III, p. 538; Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, p. 17. It was considered a gateway of Kashmir.
15. Chingas Long. 74°-18'-Lat. 32°-15', is half way between Noushahra and Rajouri. In *Bādshāh Nāma*, it is Chouki Hatī, which appears to be a clerical mistake. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 17. See Survey Map by Montgomery. Forster calls it Chingque Hatti, *Early Travels*, p. 169.
16. Ancient Rajouri, *A.N.*, III, p. 540, Rampuri of Montgomery's map. See also Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 349.
17. Thanā is 8 miles from Bahrāmgaḷā, and 14 miles from Rajouri, Beveridge, *A.N.*, III, p. 832 n and 46 *kroh* from Srinagar, Lahori, f. 439b.
18. Bahrāmgaḷā is a village near Pir Panjal Pass (11400 ft. in lat. 33°-36', long. 74°-27', in the gorge of Ratinpir Pass.
19. Poshiana is a village 30 miles from Rajouri
20. The ancient name was, perhaps, Dund, *A.N.*, III, p. 541. Āli Mardān Khān built a *Sarāi* in its vicinity, and henceforth it was called Aliabad. See also Beveridge, *A.N.*, III, p. 823.
21. A village 7 miles south-west of Shopyan in lat. 33° 41', long. 74° 46'.
22. A township of the same name in lat. 33° 44', long. 74° 53', 29 miles away from Srinagar.
23. Khampur is situated 10 miles south of Srinagar. See Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 140n. In the text of *A.N.*, III, p. 542, it is Khanpora. In the map of Rennel, while it is kanpour in *A Memoir of a Map of Hindoustan*, op.cit., p. 65. In *Gazetter of Kashmir and Ladakh*, it is Khānpura, in lat. 33° 56', long. 74° 52', p. 487.
24. Faizi, *Akbar Nāma*, ff. 242a. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 469. Muhammad Kāẓim, *Ālamgir Nāma*, p. 721.
25. Kumbu, *Āmal-i-Sālih*, II, pp. 13-14, 16, 19-20, II, 18, 469. It is called Chingas also, Fredric Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, p. 94. Forster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 169.

26. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 469.
27. Kumbu, *Āmal-i-Sālih*, II, pp. 22-23, 469.
28. Kumbu, *Āmal-i-Sālih*, II, pp. 18, 22-24.
29. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir & Ladakh*, I, p. 225. See also Rennel, *Memoir of A Map of Mughal Empire* pp. 132-138. The names are wrongly spelt which creates some confusion.
30. *A.N.*, III, p. 371.
31. Kāmgar Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 131
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, I, p. 15, II, p. 183.
32. *Ibid.* 27 n. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 76-77.
33. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 288, 291
Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 182.
Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, f. 221a.
34. Malik Haidar, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, ff. 221a-b.
35. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 183.
36. Lahori, *Bādshah Nāma*, II, p. 416.
37. The distance between Attock to Srinagar is 96 kos 77 poles. *A.N.*, III p. 584.
38. During our period the river was known as Nain-Sukh, *A.N.*, III, p. 375. In the survey map of 1869, it bears both the names. A *Sarāi* was built on the left bank of Nain-Sukh river by Akbar, *Tuzuk*, pp. 221-2; *Iqbāl Nāma*, III, p. 559.
39. *A.N.*, III, p. 377. Shangraf Kani is not traceable it should be Malgalee of the maps. See *Tuzuk*, p. 289 also.
40. *Tuzuk*, p. 292. *A.N.*, III, pp. 557-58. Noupura is a village about two miles away on the left side of Srinagar Baramulla road. Beveridge suggests the name of this village Tapar, *A.N.*, III, p. 846. Tapar is only four miles from Pattan.
41. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahangiri*, III, p. 564.
F. Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, pp. 205-6.
42. A mud fort was also at Gori. It is an ordinary village fourteen miles from Rampur.
43. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 76.
44. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 76-77.
See Drew, *Jamoo & Kashmir Territories*, pp. 137-39.
45. Suran is a village 13 miles south of Punch in lat 33° 40', long. 74° 17'.
46. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, f. 77.
Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 23-24.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 15.
- 46a. Singhpora is a village about 32 miles north-east of the town of Kashtawar in the lat. 33° 28' and long. 75° 37' on the Kashtawār side of Marbal Pass. *Bates Gazetteer*, pp. 343-45.
47. Dusu is 3 to 4 miles above Nowbagh in the lat. 33° 37' and long. 75° 28'. Kuthār is about 12 miles below this village. *Bates' Gazetteer*, p. 312.
48. *Tuzuk*, p. 295. See Chapter I, Section II.

49. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 76-78. See also Drew, *Jamoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 139-40. The author had traced more than five routes connecting Kashmir with Kashtawar. These were simply a combination of Pir Panjal and Mughal Route.
50. *Tuzuk*, p. 295.
51. "Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 1850," p. 378.
52. Desideri, *Travels* (tr. Fillipo De), pp 74-75. Cunningham, *Ladakh, Political, Physical, etc.* p. 148. This route was followed by Father Desideri an Italian traveller in 1714. In 19th century another Italian traveller, Fillipo de Fillipi, also used the same route. I have taken help from their works mainly Desideri, *Travels* (tr. by Fillipo De Fillipi) and Fillipo-De-Fillipi, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Vol II*. The latter has also translated the Desideri's account into English. Ahmad Shah Naqashbandi a native of the *Ṣubah* has also provided us with a detailed description of this important trade route. It has been translated into English by Dowson Ross In "Royal Asiatic Society, London, Vol 12, 1850." Cunninghams accounts *Ladakh-Physical, Political etc.* substantiates our information. See also Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc. II, pp. 211-51..
53. Ahmad Shah Naqashband, "Route from Kashmir via Ladakh to Yaqand, tr. Dowson Ross, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 12. 1850," pp. 373-377.
54. *Tuzuk*, p. 300
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 402-3.
Desideri, *Travels* (Tr. Fillipo-de-Fillipi), p. 53.
55. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 74-75.
56. See Chapter I, Section II.
57. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 392.
Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 20-21.
58. "JRAS, London, 1850. pp. 373-4."
59. "JRAS, London, XII, 1850, pp. 373-4." Leh was an exchange market for the goods brought from Central Asia, India, and Kashmir. The carvans mostly exchanged their merchandize here and returned to their native lands.
60. Hahmatullah Khān, *Tārīkh-i-Jammū etc. etc.* pp. 415-17.
61. This range is called Kuknaḡīr, *Āmal-i-Sālih*, II, p. 58 Kāñṭil of Desideri, *Travels etc.* p. 73.
And Matāyan of Cunningham, *Ladakh-Political, etc. etc.* p. 148.
Zōji of *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*, p. 423.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 23.
62. Pashkyum is a large village, 5 miles from Kargil in lat. 34° 30' and long. 76° 15'.
63. It is situated half way between Kharbu and Nurla in long. 76° 50', lat. 34° 20'. From here a route leads to Zanskar also. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 555.
64. It is known as Khalsi or Kulsī also situated in long. 76° 57', lat. 34° 19'. See also *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 486.
65. Pitak is about 5 miles south-west of Leh in long 77° 35', lat. 34° 10'. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 667.
Drew, *Territories of Jamoo & Kashmir*, p. 132.

66. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 166-67.
67. It is known as Leh Pass and Laochs La Pass also in long. $77^{\circ} 42'$, lat. $34^{\circ} 20'$.
68. It is in the long $77^{\circ} 40'$, and lat. $35^{\circ} 5'$ at the elevation of 17820. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 721. See also Cunningham, *Ladakh-Physical*, etc. pp. 224-25.
69. It was simply a camping ground, with a collection of stone wall enclosures to protect the travellers in long. $77^{\circ} 50'$, lat. $35^{\circ} 2' 35''$, elev. 15240'.
Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh, p. 235.
70. It is Burtsi of *Bates Gazeiter*, long. $78^{\circ} 5'$,
lat. $35^{\circ} 10'$, elev. 16000, p. 246.
71. In *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 270, it is Chipchuk long. $79^{\circ} 12'$, lat. $33^{\circ} 45'$.
72. Desideri, *Travels*, (tr. Fillipo De Fillipi), p. 81.
It has been spelt by him as Trescigkhang. According to Ahmad Shah Naqashabandi, the name of the first town on the Yarkand border is Kakair; it was here that a Chinese garrison was stationed and custom dues were realised from the merchants.
"JRAS, London, XII, 1850," pp. 380-81.
73. William Moorcroft and George Tribeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc. II, pp. 218-54, give a full description of Lāhūl Spiti-Leh route which he followed during his visit in 1835.
74. A.N., III, p. 725. *Tuzuk*, p. 292.
Iqbāl-Nāma Jahāngīrī, III, p. 597.
75. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, I, pp. 22-25.
Mohammad Kāzīm, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, pp. 802-4.
Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabu-Lubāb*, I, p. 301.
76. Faizi, *Akbarnāma*, f. 242a.
77. In the Text of A.N., III, p. 725, it is Nandi Brari perhaps a clerical mistake Beveridge's translation, it is Nari Brari, p. 1083, and Bernier calls it Sand-E-Brari
Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 413.
78. A.N., III, p. 725. Faizi, *Akbarnāma*, f. 242a.
79. *Knāfi Khān*, *Muntakhabu-Lubāb*, I, p. 301.
80. Kumbu, *AMAL-I-ṢĀLIH*, II, p. 18.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, I, pp. 18-20, II, p. 469.
81. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, II, p. 212.
82. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, II, p. 469.
83. The inn was called *Khair Sarāi*.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, II, p. 469.
84. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, I, p. 16.
Mohammad Kāzīm, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, p. 721.
85. Mohammad Kāzīm, *Ālamgir Nāmā*, pp. 802-4.
86. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāmā*, II, p. 20.

87. *A'in*, II, p. 170.
Abul Fazl states that there were 30,000 boats in the valley which appears to be an exaggeration, *A.N.*, III, p. 550. But the statement of Matāmad Khān appears to be correct, *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, II, p. 564.
88. *A'in*, II, p. 170. Kamgar Husain, *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngiri*, f. 132. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahāngiri*, III, p. 566.
89. *Inshāi Harkaran*, f. 115a. Research Library, Srinagar.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*
92. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 415-17
A.N., III, p. 468.
93. *A.N.*, II, p. 170.
Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 392.
Desideri, *Travels*, p. 79.
94. See Supra 87.
95. Hasan, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, I, ff. 141a-b.
The author states that there were more than 15 types of boats used for various purposes. See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 380-2.
96. *A.N.*, III, p. 550.

II. TRADE AND COMMERCE

EXTERNAL TRADE:

Despite the natural barriers Kashmir kept excellent trade relations with Persia, Central Asia, Russia, Bhutan, Nepal, Bengal, and Patna.¹ In the course of time it was extended as far as Golconda and Bijāpūr.² In the 18th century Kashmiri merchants had started trade of medicinal herbs and such other products with the East India Company also.

Though the trade relations with Central Asian countries had a long antiquity, but owing to the ever-increasing demand of the shawls and other articles of luxury by the Mughal nobility and aristocracy the trade with these countries developed tremendously.⁴ The Caravan route leading to Central Asia from Lahore via Srinagar was well-frequented and remained always busy.⁵

The shawl remained the chief commodity of export and so the wool merchants had flourishing business. These merchants had almost monopolized the wool trade in the wool-producing regions of Ladakh, Gilgit and Central Tibet.⁶ They had deployed their agents throughout this region to advance the loans and collect the shawl wool from the producers.⁷ They had established their warehouses in Chinese Turkistan, Central Tibet, Lahasa, Nepal and Bhutan.⁸ The bulk of the Shawl trade was carried on with Mughal India.⁹ The Mughal nobility and aristocracy was the main customer of this stuff.¹⁰ In addition to the shawls, floor coverings like carpets, dhurries, and printed and embroidered sheets were also sold to imperial *Farāsh Khāna*.¹¹ Silk worm seeds were imported from Gilgit and China, Tibet and they were reared on mulberry leaves.¹³ The cloth was exported to India and Central Asia.¹⁴

SAFFRON

This costly condiment was cultivated in Pampore, Inderkot and Kashtawār. It was prescribed by the physicians as a medicinal herb¹⁵ and was also used as a spice to flavour food with its fine fragrance.¹⁶ It was exported to India,¹⁷ yārkand, Tibet and China.¹⁸ In the 17th and 18th centuries a small quantity was purchased by the English and the Dutch merchants too.¹⁹ In the late 17th century Kashmiri saffron merchants had to face the competition from Nepali merchants who were transacting business at Patna.²⁰

The prices varied from time to time. Abul-Fazl states that the price of saffron varied from rupees 8 to 12 a seer.²¹ Palsaert refers to the Kashmir saffron as costing rupees twenty to twenty four and that of Kashtawār 28 to 32 rupees per seer at Agra.²²

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES :

Large quantities of vegetables and fruit were exported to India.^{22a} The dry fruits made their way into the markets of Lahore,²³ Ahmedabad, Agra and Amritsar.²⁴ During the 17th century the fruit merchants reached as far as South India with the fruits.²⁵ Almonds, walnuts, apples, peaches, grapes, quince and quince-seed, melons and water-melons were the main fruits exported to the Indian market.²⁶ Grapes used to sell at 108 *dams* a maund.²⁷

Some quantity of superior quality of rice known as *Janjan* from Rajouri was exported for imperial kitchen. During the Akbar's reign a maund was sold at rupees two.^{27a}

FOREST PRODUCTS :

A large number of merchants were engaged in the trade of medicinal herbs.²⁸ These were exported to India and in the course of time English factors displayed interest in their purchase.²⁹

SAUSSURSA LAPPA (COSTUS)

The root was obtained from the forests of the valley and exported to India. The root was famous for its medicinal properties. The factors at Surat and Ahmedabad were the main customers of this root.³⁰

CALAMUS :

A large quantity of this herb was sold to the factors at Surat.³¹ The Kashmir product was superior to that of Kabul.³² It was sold at the rate of one mahmūdi per seer.³³

AMBER BEADS :

There were two species of this herb. The merchants of Kashmir delivered the stuff to the factors at Surat at the rate of 40 mahmūdis and the superior yellow quality at 50 mahmūdis per seer.³⁴

WARM WOOD:

It is an aromatic herb found in Kashmir at an altitude of 5000 to 7000 feet.³⁵ After distillation process it yields a dark green oil of intoxicating properties.³⁶

It was for the first time purchased by English Factors during 1618 and 21. It was found highly nutritive and especially conducive to the sailors.³⁷ In the course of time huge quantities were purchased by them and each ship was provided with two hogsheads of this liquor.³⁸

Besides these articles various kinds of scents and flowers were also exported to India and sold at exorbitant prices. *Salix Caprea* (Bed mushk),³⁹ scent of roses and flowers and musk deer⁴⁰ yielded handsome profits.⁴¹

PAPER:

Kashmir had provided a speciality in the production of fine paper.⁴² It was in great demand in India.⁴³ Large quantity of paper was exported to Persia from Ahmedabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir.⁴⁴

Rajouri rice, and fowls from Kashmir were exported to India mainly for the royal kitchen.⁴⁵ Inkstands, trays, walnut wood boxes, spoons, silver and papermachie articles of various types were also in great demand in India.⁴⁶

Feathers of okar and the coloured plumes of various birds were exported in large quantities. The nobility was the main consumer of these articles. They decorated their banners and headgears with these beautiful plumes,⁴⁷ but the bulk was supplied to Royalty.

Horses of various breeds both local⁴⁸ and those brought from Ladakh were exported to India.⁴⁹

IMPORTS:

The main articles of import were salt,⁵⁰ shawl wool, cotton cloth,⁵¹ cloves, mace, peper, silk worm seeds, turmuric, ginger,⁵² and sugar.⁵³

Like wool, salt trade was also a flourishing one. Since salt was not available in the *Subah*, so it was imported from India.⁵⁴ On account of its high consumption, it was in great demand in the valley. The

labourers also received their wages in terms of salt.⁵⁵ It was brought from Bengal also.⁵⁶ Thanā had turned to be a salt mandi and the Kashmir merchants purchased it mainly from there.⁵⁷

INTERNAL TRADE:

The continued peace and tranquility in the Śubah under the Mughal rule and the state administration served to boost the internal trade to an appreciable extend during the Mughal period.

In the 16th century, there was no systematic market system.⁵⁸ The business though flourishing, was carried on inside the houses.⁵⁹ But in late 18th century, the systematic marketing system got fully developed and separate markets were established as those of *bāzār ṣarāffān*, *bāzār Baqālia*, *Bāzāra Ṣabāga* (Chintz market) etc. etc.⁶⁰ Forster who visited Kashmir in 1783 saw the trade and commerce thriving like anything. He fully bears out the account of father Desideri who was in Kashmir in 1714.⁶¹

ARTS, CRAFTS, AND INDUSTRIES:

Rural population was mainly busy in the agricultural pursuits and in petty handicrafts like cloth weaving, smithy, carpentry, oil pressing and animal husbandry. These crafts were also agro-based. The artisans even up to recent times received a share out of the village produce in lieu of their services.⁶² As such a village to a greater extent remained self sufficient during our period. It supplied its basic requirements within the village.⁶³ Though the surplus produce found its way to the city, it was appropriated in the shape of land revenue and other cesses.⁶⁴ In return the villages received hardly anything from the cities and towns. This flow of village surplus in the course of time changed the economic life of the cities. It is an established fact that the Mughal aristocracy were chiefly unbanized people, and as such they lived in towns and cities. They laid out gardens around these centres and built lofty buildings.⁶⁵ All these factors led to the expansion of Srinagar in particular and other townships in general.

The urban centres turned to be the natural shelters for various types of artisans. It is, therefore, no wonder that the famous industrial centres of shawl manufacture flourished in the city of Srinagar.⁶⁶ Where more than 2400 looms were busy in the production of this costly stuff,⁶⁷ which filled the coffers of the Śubah with money.⁶⁸

The skillful artisans were specialised in various techniques, designs, and artistic embellishments. The mode of production, the system of monopolization of resources and markets and concentration of surplus profits in the hands of mercantile community points to the emergence and growth of the capitalistic system under which the artisans manufactured the exquisite shawls neither for the artistic display nor for the profit sharing. But the dexterous artisans were reduced to a state of semibondage, perpetuated by social compulsions and lived in wretched plight with their meagre wages.⁶⁹

CARPET INDUSTRY

This industry flourished simultaneously with the shawl industry. Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to those imported from Persia.⁷⁰ The cost of a yard of superior quality exceeded over a hundred rupees.⁷¹ There were state-owned *kārkhānas* apart from the private *kārkhānas*.⁷² Besides, *gālichas*, *dhurries*, *gabās* and other floor coverings were also manufactured here.⁷³

MINOR ARTS AND CRAFTS:

A good deal of iron, silver, brass vessels⁷⁴ paper machie⁷⁵ paper, wood carvings, and furniture of delicate nature⁷⁶ and boats of various styles were also manufactured in the *Ṣubah*.⁷⁷ Paper was made from rags, hemp fibre and silk⁷⁸ Soaps and other such detergents were also prepared by the people.^{78a}

MINERALS

Though mineral exploitation in the *Ṣubah* of Kashmir was sadly neglected yet some effort was made to extract the earth's hidden natural treasures. Copper, iron, sapphires, and salt peter mines were worked out in a minor scale. The iron was obtained from Shahābād, and Khrive mines mainly.⁷⁹ Iron ore was exported to Lahore also.⁸⁰

Copper was obtained from 'Aishmuqām, Copper mines.⁸¹

Gold was mainly acquired from the sand of the Indus in Greater Tibet and Pakhli.⁸² More than 2000 tolas of gold was collected in Tibet alone. Yet quality was inferior and it did not fetch more than seven rupees for a tola.⁸³

1. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 132-3, 317, Filip Yefremov, *Russian Travellers to India*, etc. p. 83. (Eng translation P.N. Kemp), Delhi.
2. *Kalimāt u-Taibāt*, f. 75.
Mohd. Sādiq Khān, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamgiri*, ff. 207a-b.
3. *Factories. I*, pp. 18, 32, VI, 315.
4. "RAS, London, 1850, Vol XII," pp. 87-88.
5. *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, ed. Danison Ross, pp. 123-5.
6. Francke, *Antiquities of India Tibet*, pp. 115-16.
See also my article on "Shawl Industry in Kashmir during the Mughal period," Indian History Congress, 36th Session, 1975, Aligarh."
7. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 392.
Francke, *Antiquities of India Tibet*, pp. 115-16.
8. *History of Turkistan by Anon*, f. 1b, Acc No 3029, Research and Publications, Kashmir University. ed. Dr. A.M. Matto.
Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 132-3, 137.
9. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 19.
10. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, p. 433. Plate No I Shawls 1794AD Qazvini, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, f. 259, III, p. 326b.
11. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 448.
Wāris, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, f. 373.
12. *A'in*, II, p. 170, A.N., III, p. 648, *Tuzuk*, p. 300. Watson, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 1016.
13. Desideri, *Travels*, f. 375
Gupta, N.S., *Industrial Structure of India*, p. 58
The silk worm seeds were probably brought from China as we do not get any information about the silk worm rearing in Tibet. The climate of Tibet was not conducive to silk worms & mulberry trees.
15. *Bayāzī-Khushboī*, f. 25.
16. *A'in*, I, p. 55.
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 342-43.
17. *A'in*, I, p. 55. *Tuzuk*, p. 294. *Iqbāl Nāma Jahangiri* III, p. 571. Lahori, *Badshah Nāma*, I, p. 48.
18. Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 78, 317.
Vigne, *Travels in India*, II, p. 34.
Waddel, *Lahasa & Its Mysteries*, p. 478.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
19. *English Factories. I* (1618-1621), p. 169
See also Karl Fischer, "Indian History Congress, 1965," pp. 210-11.
20. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 73.
21. *A'in*, I, p. 55.
22. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 35.
- 22a. *A'in*, I, p. 34. Manucci, III, p. 396.

23. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 34-35.
Manucci, II, p. 174. *Tuzuk*, p. 173.
24. Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 35.
25. *Kalimātu-Taibāt*, ff. 45a-b.
26. Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, I, p. 29.
Palsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 34-35.
Inshāi-Harkaran, f. 115.
27. *A'in*, I, p. 44.
- 27a. *A'in*, I, pp. 34, 44.
28. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 44.
Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, I, p. 30.
Inshāi Harkaran, f. 115a.
29. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, p. 44.
East India Company Records, (1602-3), p. 32.
30. *Inshāi-Harkaran*, f. 115a.
George Watt. *Commercial Products of India*, p. 980.
See also Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 77, 83.
31. *East India Company Records*, (1602-3), p. 32.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *East India Company Records*, 1617, Vol 5, p. 109.
35. George Watt. *Commercial Products of India*, p. 93.
36. *Factories*, VI, p. 338.
37. *Court Minutes, East India Company*, November 20, 1618, See also *Factories*, Vol 6, p. 338.
38. Mr Mountney was appointed in A.D. 1618 as an agent to deliberate the transactions with the merchants of Kashmir *Factories*. Vol 6, p. 338.
39. *A'in*, I, p. 56.
Akhbārāt, 29 *Ramzān*, 45th R.Y.
40. Desideri, *Travels*, p. 78.
41. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 78. See also *Inshāi-Harkaran* and *Akhbarat*.
42. Badauni, *Muntakhbat-Tawārikh*, III, p. 202.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
43. *Ruq'āt, i-Ālamgiri*, f. 160b. *Akhbarat*, 40, 44 R.Y.
Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
Vigne, *Travels*, etc. II, p. 121.
44. *Factories*, I, 1618, p. 18.
45. *A'in*, I, pp. 34, 40, 41.
46. *Raq'īm-u-Karāīm*, f. 22. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 402.
Manucci, II, p. 402.
47. *A'in*, II, p. 174. *Iqbāl Nama. Jahāngiri*, III, p. 571.
M.U., I, pp. 180-1.

48. A'in (N.K. ed), p. 64.
A.N., III, p. 824, Tuzuk, p. 301.
49. A'in (N.K. ed), p. 64,
Hamida-Khātūn Naqvi, *Urban Centres in Northern India*, p. 46.
50. A'in, II, p. 174; Tuzuk, p. 300
51. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 35-36.
Gulshan-i-Dastūr, f. 415.
52. Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, pp. 35-36.
53. Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 395.
54. A'in, II, p. 174, Tuzuk, p. 300
Iqbal Nama, Jahangiri, III, p. 571.
55. A'in, II, p. 174.
56. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 245.
57. Mohammad Murad, *Tuhfatul-Fuqara*, f. 43b.
Waqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 159.
58. *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 425.
59. A'in, II, p. 175.
60. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 8.
61. George Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, pp. 22-5.
62. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 60
63. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 119.
64. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 119.
65. See Chapter VII.
66. *Haft-Iqlim*, f. 214b.
George Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
67. *Haft-Iqlim*, f. 214b.
George Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
Checherove, *India-Economic Development, 16th-18th centuries*, p. 159.
68. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 403.
69. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 273.
70. Lahori, *Bādshāh Nama*, I, p. 448.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Wāris, *Bādshāh Nama*, II, f. 373.
73. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 562a.
74. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir*, II, pp. 5, 337.
75. "Akhbārāt, Ziq'ad, 48th R.Y."
76. *Raqā'im-Karā'im*, f. 22.
77. *Gazetteer of Kashmir & Ladakh*, pp. 82, 83.

78. Forster, *From Bengal to England*, II, p. 22.
Vigne, *Travels*, II, p. 121
N.S. Gupta, *Industrial Structure of India*, p. 114.
- 78a. *Gulshan-i-Dastūr*, f. 267a.
79. *A'in*, II, p. 175
Lawrance, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 63.
80. N.S. Gupta, *Industrial Structure of India*, p. 107.
81. Vigne, *Travels*, I, p. 325, II, p. 5.
82. *A'in*, II, p. 175.
Sejan Rai Bhandari, *Khulās-tu-Tawārikh*, p. 82.
83. Kumbu, *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, II, p. 264.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The Şubah of Kashmir constituted a very significant unit of the Mughal Empire as it lay in the region adjoining the Kabul province as well as touching the border of the Central Asian lands. Its southern boundaries were adjacent to the provinces of Lahore and Multan which were connected by a number of routes with the plains of the Punjab, which lent at compactness and unity with the rest of Mughal India. Its climate was bracing and healthful which attracted the Mughal royalty, nobility and the social and intellectual elite for frequent visits to the enchanting valley with its lofty mountains, superb beauty and majestic view on the banks of its lakes and rivers. It, therefore, became a first rate tourist resort to which the rich people flocked to pass the summer days in happiness and revelry particularly because to the Mughals, the Turks, the Persians and the Afghans who constituted the bulk of the upper classes, the scorching heat of the summer sun in the plains was intolerable.

It was no mere accident of history or a freak in the chain of events that prompted Akbar to undertake the extension of the Mughal rule to the region of Kashmir. It was in fact the logical culmination of the imperial adventure to bring about the annexation of Kashmir by any means or under any circumstances so that the defence of the Empire in the North-Western region should be completed by holding the regions of Kashmir and Kabul under the sway of the Mughals. To Akbar the subjugation of Kashmir was the fulfilment of an opportunity for the realisation of the dream of having impergnable natural frontiers with the outlying posts garrisoned with strong forces to repulse any attempts of invasion on the part of the Uzbeks or any other source of trouble to the Mughal frontiers in that region. A weak Kashmir under the possession of the declining Sultanate of the Chaks with the faction fight among the nobles could have fallen an easy prey to the cupidity of the rising power of the Uzbeks through Gilgit and Ladakh and could have further posed a threat not only to Kabul but to the Mughal possessions in the Punjab also. It would have checked the imperial ambitions in the South as the Emperor's hands would have remained tied down with the affairs of the North-West. So it was indispensable to Akbar to bring Kashmir under his direct rule and

consolidate his power through maintaining a strong army and enforcing vigorous administrative measures so as to render it an effective safeguard against any misadventure by an external power and to overawe opposition within Kashmir with its other units aimed at restoring the Chak Sultanate or any other insurgent move. Moreover, the weakness of Yousf Shah and Yāqūb Shah in combating the Mughal advance tactfully and vigorously as well as the intrigue and treachery of the Kashmir nobility together with the perennial Shia-Sunni conflicts darkened the horizon of Kashmiri politics and frustrated all hopes of putting up a stubborn and successful opposition to the Mughal enterprise. Consequently the kingdom of Kashmir lost its independence and became a regular province of the Mughal Empire in 1586, which though it proved advantageous to the Kashmiris in many respects by widening the scope of their economic and social activities and developments in many fields in the *Ṣubāh*, yet it restricted the full growth of the people of Kashmir to rise to the stature of independent living according to their own choice and wishes and the continuity of institutions and traditions which independence alone can bring forth. Here in lies the significance of the debacle inflicted on the Kashmiris in 1584 and 1586 as it stunted the growth of the natives as self-governing people which further deteriorated in the form of subjugation under the Afghans and the Sikhs on the fall of the Mughal Empire. It further engendered the loss of spirit; enthusiasm and fervour and curbed the martial characteristics of the Kashmiris. This sentiment was voiced by a number of contemporary Kashmiri historians who were gravely shaken and grieved at the loss of the power from the hands of the local people and passing-off the kingdom of Kashmir to the possession of the Mughals.

The annexation of Kashmir brightened the prospects of the Mughal empire and within a period of two years from the fall of Kashmir Akbar convened a war council during his visit to Kashmir in 1589 at which the decision of the conquest of Kabul was taken, ostensibly with a view to restricting the expansion of the Uzbek Empire in that direction. Thereafter the strategically important principalities of Kashtawār, Punch, Pakhli, Little & Greater Tibet, Rajouri and Noushahra were reduced to submission and merged with the *Ṣubāh* to widen the scope of the defence of Kashmir. It signified that drawing up of the political geography of large part of modern Kashmir by the Mughals.

Despite the many disadvantages latent in the annexation of Kashmir from the Mughal occupation brought about many good things to Kashmir. The administrative machinery which was thrown out of gear during the decline of the Chak power was streamlined and made effective. The land revenue system in particular was reshaped and brought in tune with the administration prevailing in the rest of the empire introducing annual and periodical checks and auditing of chances of cheating and embezzlement were reduced in the accounts and revenue. The institution of auditing was introduced by the Mughal practice of *Barāmdī*. The judicial, police and general administration was formed on a firm footing. The litigants had free access to the Courts and officials. The Courts of the *Qāzis*, the executive and revenue officers dispensed justice. The *Ṣubahdār* also set a law court to redress the grievances of the complainants, even the Emperor was accessible to the offended parties for the dispensation of justice. The imperial officers, the *maṇṣabdārs* and *jāgīrdārs* were ordered to refund the illegal cesses and *abwabs* which they realized from the people, yet cases of officials indulging in corrupt practices, misappropriations and illegal exaction on record yet they constitute exceptions and not the rule.

The uniformity of administrative system, abolition of the toll tax, improvement and extension of the routes boosted the trade and commerce of the *Ṣubah*. The peace and tranquility in the region as well as the change in the agrarian conditions rehabilitated the shattered economy of the *Subah* after the Mughal conquest.

The woollen textile of Kashmir entered into a world market through the medium of export trade of the Mughal Empire. It enriched the *Ṣubah* and promoted the industry enormously. The wool merchants monopolized the trade in the wool producing areas, and important feature was that the Kashmiri merchants were henceforth seen in Nepal, Patna, Ahmedabad and Aurangabad.

The Mughals introduced the cash nexus in the *Ṣubah*. In the initial stages it created some problems but in the course of the time worked well. The payment for external trade was made by the *Hundis*. The revenue was partially realised in kind but it was commuted into cash by disposing of to the grain merchants. An important feature of the period under review is the emergence of a middle class which monopolised the woollen textiles, shawl industry in the urban centres and at a later stage the revenue farming.

The Mughals spent enormous sums on the construction of monuments, gardens and development of health resorts. Even the petty officials also emulated the example of their masters in this regard. Thus the bulk of the revenue was spent over in the development of the *Ṣubāh*.

The Mughal conquest had also given rise to the feelings of distrust and dislike among the Kashmiris towards the conquerors and there was no love lost within the ruler and ruled for a long time. We find better relations subsisting by the time we come to the Aurangzeb's reign, yet it would be equally incorrect to say that the Kashmiris were altogether ignored in matters of appointment to public offices. We find a number of Kashmiris serving the Mughals in other parts of the Empire, Iba Chak, Husain Chak, Shamsi Chak, Malik ^ʿAli, Malik Haidar, Yousf ^{Kh}ān, Mulla Mohsin Fānī. A large number were given *manṣābs* and *jāgīrs* during the reign of Aurangzeb. Malik Haidar and Malik Ali were given *jagirs* and title of *Rāisul Mulkand Chugtāi* was conferred on Malik Haidar by Jahangir, Mulla Mohsin Fānī was appointed *Ṣadrol* Allahabad and Mulla Muhammad Yousf was appointed as a *Waḳīā Navīs* of the Mughal Embassy to Iran by Shah Jahān, ^ʿAbdul Karim Kashmiri was conferred the *Faujdarī* of Dalamoni by Aurangzeb, besides, a number of Kashmiris were given minor posts. But we cannot ignore the fact that prestigious posts were usually assigned to Irānis, and Tūrānis. The Indian element was only a later development. Favourable climate, scenic beauty and continued peace as well as attentive and devoted following was enough incentive to the *Ṣūfis*, saints and scholars to settle in the valley. They belonged to various nationalities and groups. This gave rise to a phenomenon of new social behaviour and humanitarianism. Naqashbandi and Chishti orders were introduced and flourished during our period. Islam was introduced into the farflung areas of Ladakh and Kashtawār. The dissemination of the Shiā faith was checked by the extension of the mystic movements and indirect result of these *ṣūfi* movements was the disintegration of the indigenous mystic order called the Rishi order. The sectarians feelings aroused by the orthodox rulers like Mirza Haidar Duglat and the Chaks were still alive. But in the course of time, under the strong rule of the Mughals sectarian feuds and feelings were suppressed.

Some modern historians have attributed the loss of martial spirit among the Kashmiris totally to the establishment of the Mughal rule.

But the martial spirit of the Kashmiris though immensely diminished by the prolonged Mughal occupation had other factors to influence it adversely. The Buddhist, Shaiva, and Śūfi influence also dampened it. With the exception of Sultan Shihābuddīn the other Sultans were contented with the territorial limits of their kingdom. We cannot ignore the unfortunate fact that a band of 300 soldiers under the Mirza Haidar Duglat could defeat the Kashmirians in 1533 and again in 1540. Even Muhammad Qāsim Khān entered the city of Srinagar in 1586 without any hinderance. It is thus abvious that the loss of martial spirit was to some extent the outcome of a process initiated much before the establishment of Mughal rule, but it was in fact destroyed by the Mughal occupation.

The Mughal conquest was a turning point in the cultural history of the Subah. The mass scale contacts enriched the already copious cultural heritage. Cultural life attained a new dimension. Persian became the popular language. *Gulistān*, *Bostān*, *Karīmā Nāmihaq* of Sādi, *Pandnāma* of Aṭṭār and *Diwān-i-Hāfiz* were committed to memory. The era produced historians, scholars, and poets of the highest order.

The Sanskrit language was eliminated because it lost the state patronage and had no firm ground among the masses. Art, architecture and garden culture entered into a new phase of development.

It was the Mughal period which opened the way for European travellers. Jerome Xavier, Bendict De Goes, Palsaert, Bernier, Desideri and Father Fryre came to the enchanting valley during our period. Through their accounts and writings they introduced Kashmir with its novailities to the European world, which in long run helped in the growth and development of modern tourist industry and foreign trade, and other contacts and aroused their interest in the land, the people and the masterly crafts of Kashmir. Who can deny the impact of the world famous poem *Lalla-Rukh* composed by Thomas Moor on the minds of the Europeans. The aristocracy turned crazy to have a glimpse of this beautiful valley.

The remarks of Sir Jadunath Sarkar regarding the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Kashmir at the close of our period cannot be swept aside. It is quite strange that a historian of his eminence and calibre could pass sweeping remarks on the basis of isolated and stray references and attribute the ruin of Kashmir to the atrocious rule of Aurangzeb. This would be going too far in making simplified assertions. The evidence contained in the accounts of St. Xavier, Francisco Palsaert, Bernier, Desideri, Father Fryre and lastly George Forster on the one hand and Abul Faẓ'l, Jahangir, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Malik Haidar, Nārain Koul 'Ājiz and Mohammad 'Azam on the other leads us to the conclusion that though the Mughal occupation had hampered the growth of the Kashmiris to their full stature yet the socio-economic order ushered in by the Mughal conquest in 1586 led to the attainment of many tangible results in the overall developments in the fields of administrative, social, economic and cultural institutions.

Nevertheless, during the later Mughal period the administrative efficiency decayed and chaos and confusion was rampant which ultimately led to the disintegration of the Empire and Kashmir passed into the hands of the Afghans.

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LIST OF SUBAHDĀRS APPOINTED FROM 1586 - 1752

S. No.	Name of Subahdār	Racial extraction	Rank at the time of appointment	Year of appointment	Name of Nāibī Subahdār (if any)	Sources
1.	Mohammad Qāsim Khān	Irānī	3000	July 1587	—	A'in, I, p. 160, A.N. III, p. 496, M.U., III, pp. 62-66.
2.	Yosuf Khān Rizvī	Irānī	2000 M.U. 4500 p. 160 (N.K.) Ed.	1587	Yādgār Mirza A'in, I, p. 160; who revolted Muntakhib-ul-Tawārīkh. in the year II, p. 392, M.U. III, 1592	pp. 314-16.392
3.	Mohammad Quli Khān	Irānī	1500/600	1594-95		A.N., III, p. 654; Kewal Rām, f. 200; M.U. II, p. 186, III, pp. 342-44.
4.	Āṣaf Khān (Qawāmu-ud-Din Jafar Beg)	Irānī	2500	1597-98		A'in, I, p. 161 (Blochmann tr.), p. 452; A.N., III, p. 732. Faizī, Akbar Nāma, f. 242a; Kewal Rām, f. 47.

JEHANGIR

5. Mirza Ali Akbar Khān
Tūrāni 4000 1606
Tuzuk, p. 11; *Ma'āsiri-Jahāngiri*, f. 37.
Kewal Rām, f. 194
6. Nawāb Qulich Khān
Tūrāni 800/500 1607
Tuzuk, 53, 79; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 211
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 123
7. Safdar Khān alias Hāshim Khān, son of Qasim Khān (latter was given the title of Safshikan Khān)
Irāni 3000/2000 1612
Tuzuk, p. 97; *M.C.*, II, pp. 736-738
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 123.
8. Ahamad Beg Khān
Tūrāni 2500/1500 1615-16
Tuzuk, pp. 194, 233;
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 124
MU I, pp. 126-27
9. Dilāwar Khān Nakar
Tūrāni 4000/3500 1618
Tuzuk, pp. 225, 311;
Iqbāl Nāma, III, p. 529
M.C. II, pp. 9-14;
Kewal Rām, ff. 62-63.
10. Irādāt Khān
Irāni 1000/500 1620
Tuzuk, pp. 314, 332;
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir p. 214,
M.C. I, pp. 174-80

Tuzuk, pp. 335, 348, 366;
Iqbal Nama III, p. 580,
M.U. I, pp. 180-1;
Lahori I, p. 432.

SHAHJAHAN'S REIGN

11. I'tiqād Khān	Irāni	4000/3000	1622	Zafar Khān	Kambu, I, p. 493
12. Khwaja Abul-Hasan	Irāni	6000/6000	1632	'Ali Beg	Lahori, II, pp. 125-26;
13. Zafar Khān	Irāni	3000/2000	1632-3	Zulqadar	Kambu II, pp. 298, 300,
14. Ali Mardān Khān	Re-appoint- ed Irāni	2nd time	1644-45	2000/1600	337. Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i- Shāhī, f. 62b.
		7000/7000	1638-39		M.U., II, pp. 84-85.
		Reappointed			
		2nd term	1639		
15. Shah Quli Khān	Turani	3000/2000	January 1641		Lahori, II, pp. 223; Kambu, II, p. 337
16. Tarbiyat Khān	Turani	2500/1500	1642		Lahori, II, pp. 225, 282-3; Kamboh II, pp. 338, 360.
17. Murād Bakbāsh	Prince	12000/9000	1647		Wārīs, I, f. 6.
18. Husain Beg Khān	Irani	1500/1000	1648		Wārīs, I, f. 36; Nuskha-i-Ahwāl-i-Shāhī, f. 62a.

19. Lashkar Khān alias
Ashraf Khān

Mohammad Kāzim, p. 195

20. I'tamād Khān alias
Ashraf Khān

Mohammad, Kāzim, p. 196
Narain Koul 'Ajiz, p. 105a.
M.U., I, pp. 272-74.

21. Ibrāhīm Khān

Mohammad Kāzim, p. 426;
Storia, II, p. 220
Narain Koul 'Ajiz, p. 105a;
M.U., I, pp. 295-301.
Mir'at-i-Ahamadi, p. 357;
Akhbārāi, Jamādi, I, 44 R.Y.

258

22. Islām Khān alias
Mir Ziya-ud-Din

'Alamgir Nama, p. 634;
Narain Koul 'Ajiz, p. 105a
M.U., I, pp. 217-20
Wāqīat-i-Kashmir, p. 164.
Gouhar-i-'Ālam, p. 285.

23. Saif Khān

'Alamgir Nāma, p. 832
Narain Koul 'Ajiz, p. 105a.
M.U., II, pp. 489-93

24. Muḥibb Khān

'Alamgir Nāma, p. 957.
Ma' Asir-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 53.
Akhbārāi, 21, Rabi II, 12 R.Y.
Narain Koul 'Ajiz, p. 105a.
M.U., III, pp. 595-96

Tūrāni

ACRANGZEB

Irāni

2000/500 Sept. 1658

Ashraf Khan

Irāni

5000/5000 1661

2nd term

1677-78

3rd term

1702-1705

Tūrāni

5000/3000 1661

Tūrāni

1500/700 1665

I term

Tūrāni

1671-72

II term

2500/2000 May 1669

25. Ifukhar Khān 100/1000 15.9.1671 Mir Sultān Husain Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri, p. 69
Narain Koul Ājiz, p. 105a.
M.U., I, pp. 252-5.
26. Qawām-ud-Dīn rānā 3000/2500 29.5.1676 Irānī Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri, p. 92.
Storia, II, p. 237
Narain Koul Ājiz, p. 105a.
M.U., II, p. 109.
27. Hafizulla Khan 3000/2000 1687-88 Indian Akhbārāt, Safar, 33, R.Y.
Narain Koul Ājiz, p. 105a.
M.U., III, pp. 171-77.
28. Muzaffar Khan alias
Mohammad Bagā Irānī 1691 Birbal Kachroo,
Narain Koul Ājiz, p. 105a.
29. Abū Nasar Khān 3000/2500 1694 Abu Fateh Narain Koul Ājiz, p. 105a.
Gouhar-i-Ālam, p. 294.
Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 189;
M.U., pp. 292-3
30. Fazil Khān
Burhān-ud-Dīn 2500/1200 1697 Irānī Akhbārāt, 29 Muharram,
45 R.Y., Sādig Khān
Tarikh-i-Ālamgiri, f. 168b;
Ma'asir-i-Ālamgiri, p. 235;
Narain Koul Ājiz, p. 106a,
III, pp. 34-38.

31. Nawāzish Khān alias
Mukhtār Beg

Tūrānī

2500/2500 1706
(5002-3b)
2nd Term 1711

Musharāf
Khān

Gouhar-i-ālam, p. 299;
M.U., I, pp. 246-47

32. Jafar Khān

Irānī

6000/6000 1709
(1000x2-3b)

ʿArif Khān
Abdullah
Khān
Dehbedi

M.U.I, pp. 531-35;
Narain Koul 'Ajiz, f. 105b;
Waḡiāt-i-Kashmir,
pp. 210-11.

33. Ibrahim Khān
Alias Ali
Mardān Khān

Irānī

5000/5000 1709

M.U., I, pp. 295-301

34. Inayatullah Khān

Kashmirī

1500/250 1711

Amānat Khan M.U., II, pp. 828-32;
Musharāf Waḡiāt-i-Kashmir,
Khān (only pp. 240-41.
for three months)

2nd term 1712-13

3rd term 1717-20

4th term 1724-25

35. Sa'adat Khan alias Saiyed Husain Khan	Tūrāni	6000/5000	1713-1717	Ali Mohamad M.U., II, pp. 524-27. Khan Mir Ahmad Khan Wāqiat-i-Kashmir
36. Abdul Şamad Khan alias Saifudaula	Tūrāni	7000/7000	1721-23	Monim Khan M.U., II, pp. 514-17. 1721 Abdul Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, Barkat Khan pp. 234-35 1721, Arif Khan 1722, Najeeb Khan 1723
37. 'Azam Khan	Irāni	4000/4000	1723-24	Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, pp. pp. 235-36 M.U., II, pp. 247-53
38. 'A qibat Khan	Tūrāni		1725-1727	Abul Barkāt Khan Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 242
39. 'Aghar Khan son of Imām Quli Khan	Tūrāni	3500/3000	1727-1729	" M.U., I, pp. 274-77. Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 242
40. Sayed Mir Khwfi Alias Amir Khan	Tūrāni	5000/5000 (3000x2-3b)	1729-36 1731-36	Ihtirām Khan M.U., II, pp. 42-56, 476-77. 1731-36 Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 247
41. Dil Dīlir Khan	Indian	5000/5000 (3000x2b-3)	1736-37 Khan	Jalil-ud-Din Khan Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 247 M.U., II, pp. 42-56 (1737-3)

42. Fakr-hudaulah	—	6000/6000	1737-1738	Qazi Khān	Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 250
43. Inayatullah Khān li, son of Inayatullah Khān I	Kashmiri		1738-1740	Hisamud- Din-Khān 1738 Abul Barkat Khān 1738-44.	M.U., I, pp. 310-21.
44. Asadullah Khān alias Muhammad Ibrahim	Indian	6000/6000	1740-1744	"	Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 251
45. Mir Muhammad Muim Sa'adat Khān Abū Manṣūr Khān	Irani	2000/1000	1745-48	Jan Nisar Khan 1745 Sher-Jang	Wāqiat-i-Kashmir, p. 251
46. Quli Khān	—	—	1751-52	(Afghan Rule, Wajizut-Tawārikh, f. 51b Starts)	

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